Theatre, Catholic Communities, and Popular Entertainment in England's North-East, *c.*1600-1625

By

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Abstract

This thesis traces theatrical practices among the Catholic community in the north-east of England during the reign of James VI and I. Its basis is archival work conducted as part of the Records of Early English Drama North-East project. It focuses on two case studies: the career of Durham-born recusant dancing master, Robert Hindmers (b. 1585), and the 1617 Newcastle performance of Anthony Brewer's play *The Lovesick King* (publ. 1655).

In the introduction, I discuss the issue of north-eastern regional identities and situate my work within the wider field of scholarship. In chapter two, I examine the available manuscript sources in order to determine the identity, career, and role of Robert Hindmers within the Durham Catholic community. I expand our understanding of Catholic missionary strategies in post-Reformation England by suggesting that dance instruction might have been utilized by Catholics to access particular households and assist the mission.

Chapters three, four, and five discuss Anthony Brewer's play *The Lovesick King* and its northern performance context. I offer a reconsideration of the well-known conjecture that *The Lovesick King* had not only been originally written for a performance in Newcastle, but had also been performed as an occasional piece during King James' visit to the city in 1617. I provide additional evidence to support this well-founded speculation. More importantly, my reading of Brewer's play traces its muted religious undertones. While *The Lovesick King*'s subplot is linked to religious conservatism and Catholic nostalgia, a substantial reliance on Herculean imagery in the main plot, in particular the motif of Hercules *in bivio*, is associated with contemporary Catholic anxieties surrounding the oath of allegiance. Considering the prominence of crypto-Catholicism among the Newcastle coal-trading elite and *The Lovesick King*'s focus on individual virtue, unconditional loyalty, and social

reconciliation, the play can be considered as a political plea of moderate Catholics for toleration.

The two case studies illustrate the diversity of Catholic engagement with performative entertainment in the North-East: while Robert Hindmers' dancing demonstrates the subversive potential of entertainment, the staging of *The Lovesick King* by the Newcastle elite elucidates Catholic participation in eulogistic royalism and their willingness to compromise with the Protestant establishment.

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List of illustrations

List of abbreviations

AC	Alnwick Castle
BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives, York
BL	The British Library, London
BM	The British Museum, London
CA	Carlisle Archive Centre, Carlisle
CH	Castle Howard
CRS	Catholic Record Society
CSP	Calendar of State Papers
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library, Durham
DRO	Durham County Record Office, Durham
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
NA	Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn
PGL	Palace Green Library, Durham
REED	Records of Early English Drama
SP	State Papers
TNA	The National Archives, London (Kew)
TWA	Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

1 Introduction: Region and Religion

In 1596, William James, an Oxford graduate, who was born in Cheshire but spent most of his adult life in the south, was appointed Dean of Durham. He was not impressed with the North. In January 1597, he wrote a letter to the secretary of state, Robert Cecil, lamenting the sad state of the diocese: 'This poore Country & cittie (for I thinck it farre exceedeth any othr thrise so bigg in povertie) is in religion very backwarde.'[1] Although we sense pity in his outline of the decay of tillage 'in this little Bisshoprick', the correspondent cannot completely overcome his generally patronizing tone: 'if corne were not brought in at newcastle, (which is now also visited with the plauge) many thousand*e*s wold for wonte of bread perish. […] these great inconvenienns, I fear will not be redressed, without helpe from afare.'[2] The South is summoned to the rescue. But apart from crumbling agriculture and general misery, which was nevertheless only temporary – the plague at the time was not pestering only the North – James mainly worried about Catholics, 'both esquy*re*s & gentlemen of good place & ther families' and 'divers others of meaner calling', who were not willing to amend their ways.[3] '[T]her ignorance & blindnes', he claimed, was 'to be pittied, ther pride & insolencie may not be endured'.[4] '[I]t were better if ther were not one of them left in England', he finally stated.[5]

James' rhetoric is familiar and normative. Whenever early modern officials and clergymen wrote about the northern parts to the authorities in the South, the North was generally represented as backward, lawless, crime-ridden, uncivil, and popish.[6] For James,

[1] TNA, SP 12/262, fol. 18^{r}. Manuscript sources are quoted in their original spelling. For the sake of clarity, superfluous punctuation is sometimes omitted, abbreviations expanded in italics, and superior letters and superscriptions lowered to the line.
[2] TNA, SP 12/262, fol. 18^{r}.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 105–25; Diana Newton, 'Borders and Bishoprick: Regional Identities in the Pre-Modern North East, 1559–1620', in *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000*, ed. by Adrian Green and A. J. Pollard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 49–70 (pp. 47–57).

the religious backwardness of the North-East is an expression of the region's inherent uncivility: even if many papists were to be converted, they would still remain intolerably rebellious people. And yet Diana Newton has shown that, even though such representations of the North had some basis in reality, they were mostly deliberate constructs, feeding on outside preconceptions. Crime levels in the two north-eastern counties were comparable to the rest of the realm, while the

> negative accounts were as likely to come from the elites themselves, who deliberately manufactured the gloomy image of the two counties, not only to maintain the favourable financial arrangements they enjoyed with the crown, but also to excuse possible failures on their part as county officers.[7]

As we have seen in William James' letter, religious identities featured prominently in perpetuating this state of crisis. The North, which consisted of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, Durham, the ridings of Yorkshire, and Lancashire, was considered a stronghold of the old faith. Yet in the same way as the alleged lawlessness and savageness of the northerners, views of their unconforming religious practices have been tainted with prejudice. Even so, modern historians have generally confirmed the early modern stereotypes regarding the North's religious backwardness.[8]

The threat, at least in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, was real. The rising of the northern earls of Westmorland and Northumberland in 1569 was not simply a consequence of a regional power struggle, a feudal affair crushed by growing Tudor

[7] Newton, *North-East England*, p. 167.
[8] See, for example, J. C. H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558 –1790* (London: Chapman, 1966); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: Longman, 1975).

centralisation, in which religion played a minor role.[9] The restoration of the popular religious character has recently been proposed 'as the most important motivating factor for recruits'.[10] Considering the short success of the rebellion, substantial efforts were invested in restoring Catholic worship and church fabric throughout the diocese of Durham, not just in Durham Cathedral.[11] Moreover, the rebellion cemented the popular perception of Catholicism as traitorous and rebellious. However, although the northern rising managed to inspire the lower orders of society, the Catholic gentry were much less willing to 'jeopardise their political standing in the local community'.[12] As we will see in the following chapters, the willingness of the northern Catholic gentry to cooperate with the Protestant state increased perceptibly after the succession of King James. Being a son of a Catholic martyr, Mary Stuart, and endorsing a relatively tolerant policy towards Catholics in Scotland, James's reign was anticipated eagerly by the majority of Catholics. The Catholic exile Richard Verstegan, who was not the greatest supporter of James – his favourite for succession was the Spanish infanta – nevertheless encouraged the future King of England to take revenge and honour his friends:

> And as for the King of Scotland […] albeit they of England haue cut of the head of his mother, he must not […] by vn-tymely reuenge, cut him-self from the possibilitie of thet crowne. But hauing once obtained the same, he will then fall to the cutting of of [sic] the heads of those, that assented to that action: and to the confiscatio*n* of their lands and goodes, therewith to reward his friendes & followers: and so

[9] See David Marcombe, 'A Rude and Heady People: The Local Community and the Rebellion of the Northern Earls', in *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494–1660*, ed. by. David Marcombe (Nottingham: Department of Adult Education, 1987), pp. 117–45.
[10] Newton, *North-East England*, p. 119.
[11] Ibid., pp. 120–21.
[12] Ibid., p. 123.

> demonstrate vnto the world, that he could politikely chuse a tyme conuenien*t* to discharge such duty, as is incident vnto the honor and reputation of a King.[13]

The starting point of my thesis is the post-Reformation Catholic North: more precisely the North-East in its narrowest sense, a geographical region which today consists of Northumberland and County Durham. In the early modern period, the North-East did not exist as a separate administrative region nor was there yet a recognizable North-Eastern identity.[14] Although some institutions and practices did transcend county boundaries, such as the cult of St. Cuthbert and the diocese of Durham itself which stretched over Northumberland, Newcastle, and the Palatinate, local identities took precedence. The focus on the two north-eastern counties is therefore in many ways a matter of a pragmatic choice. Indeed, throughout my discussion, I am forced to venture beyond these proposed boundaries to consider particular developments and networks in a wider context of the North.

This thesis is a result of research conducted as part of the Records of Early English Drama (REED) North-East project. The project's scope, which aims to collect all evidence of performance in Northumberland, County Durham, and Yorkshire from the Middle Ages until 1642, has significantly shaped my own regional perspective and historicist methodology. However, my geographic restriction and time frame are considerably narrower. My aim was to survey early seventeenth-century archival material for any evidence of Catholic-related performance and entertainment in order to subsequently interpret the material in a wider context of Jacobean religious politics and post-Reformation Catholic culture. Such Catholic material does not necessarily consist of specifically Catholic aesthetic forms of theatre practice and entertainment, either in their pre-Reformation or post-

[13] Richard Verstegan, *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles* (Antwerp, 1592), p. 47.
[14] Newton, 'Borders and Bishoprick', pp. 57–70.

Tridentine embodiments.[15] Instead, it can also relate to instances of Catholic engagement with forms of entertainment which were not inherently associated with religious practice or particular confessional identity. The activities of the semi-professional Simpson players, a provincial Catholic recusant company from Egton, North Yorkshire, are the best-known example of how performative culture participated in provincial Catholic sociability and identity formation.[16] As Phebe Jensen has demonstrated, the Simpson players affirmed and 'maintained a sense of cultural and religious identity' of the Catholic community through festivity and theatricality.[17] However, their repertory was varied and far from distinctly Catholic; it looked to the past with nostalgia (with a *Saint Christopher* play, for instance), but also embraced and reinterpreted contemporary forms (such as Shakespeare's *King Lear*). The series of fundamental questions which therefore guided my research was quite broad: How did Catholics socialize in the North-East? What kind of entertainments did they engage in? What was the role of theatre and performative entertainment in the north-eastern Catholic community?

Because in Protestant England, Catholic piety, worship, and sociability were by necessity limited and centred on the gentry households, personal and family papers offer, in principle, an ideal body of primary sources.[18] Unfortunately, only very few family collections from the Jacobean period survive in the North-East, of either Catholic or

[15] For the association of pre-Reformation festivity and traditional pastimes with Catholicism, see Phebe Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 23–63; for English Jesuit theatre, see William H. McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983); and Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 181–93.

[16] On the Simpson players see in particular G. W. Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century', *North Yorkshire County Record Office Journal* 3 (1976), 95–130; and Phebe Jensen, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community: The Simpsons at Gowlthwaite Hall', in *Region, Religion and Patronage*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay, and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 101–20.

[17] Jensen, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community', p. 110.

[18] See Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*; Frances E. Dolan, 'Gender and the "Lost" Spaces of Catholicism', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 32/4 (2002), 641–65; for more on the image and role of women in Catholic households see Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

Protestant provenance.[19] Instead, I had to rely mainly on ecclesiastical records, which I regularly supplemented with correspondences found in the State Papers in The National Archives.[20] At Palace Green Library, Durham, and Durham Cathedral Library, I have consulted all the existing archdeacons' visitation books for Northumberland and Durham, and also the Jacobean High Commission papers.[21] I have also examined the entire correspondence of Bishop William James (1542–1617), which is found in the State Papers and searchable online. William James came to Durham in 1596 as a dean and became bishop of Durham in 1606, a post he occupied until his death in 1617. His letters, often addressed to the secretaries of state, Robert Cecil and Ralph Winwood, or the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot, provide a wealth of information on the north-eastern Catholic community and the government's response to recusancy in the diocese.

Another invaluable source is the diary of Thomas Chaytor of Butterby now in Durham Palace Green Library; it stretches from May 1612 until Chaytor's death in December 1617.[22] Chaytor worked as a registrar of Durham's Consistory Court and, at least outwardly, conformed to the established religion. However, his wife, Jane Tempest, daughter of Sir Nicholas Tempest of Stella, who was one of Newcastle's chief Hostmen, was from a Catholic family and a recusant herself. Chaytor's diary, which records his Catholic connections stretching across the north-east, is particularly important for his observations on King James' 1617 visit to Durham and Newcastle; he also comments on local horse races, which were often organized and attended by Catholic gentry.[23]

[19] The most extensive Catholic family records are the papers of the Swinburne family of Capheaton, Northumberland, see NA, ZSW. However, their manuscripts do not provide any evidence of theatrical or performative activities.
[20] Digitised documents are available on State Papers Online (http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online-15091714.aspx).
[21] See PGL, DDR/A/ACD/1/1, DDR/A/ACN/1/1, DDR/A/ACN/1/2, DDR/EV/VIS/2/3, DDR/EV/VIS/2/4; and DCL, DCD/D/SJC/3, DCD/D/SJB/7.
[22] See PGL, Add.MS.866.
[23] Cf. Newton, 'Borders and Bishoprick', pp. 67–68; and Rebecca Frances King, 'Aspects of Sociability in the North East of England, 1600–1750 (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2001), pp. 131–35.

The majority of available sources which relate to the Catholic community in the north-east do not provide any windows to private entertainments within Catholic households. Instead, we mainly hear of public Catholic sociability, in particular when it is disruptive or threatening to the establishment. Intriguingly, a substantial amount of the Jacobean evidence on horse racing in the North-East is clearly associated with Catholics. On 9 December 1605, in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot, William James wrote to Robert Cecil to warn him that although 'the monster Th*omas* Percye (odium dei et hominu*m* [odious to God and the people]) is dead', the country, and the North in particular, was far from rid of the Catholic menace.[24] Among other things, James commented on the material conditions of Catholics in his diocese, who despite the recusancy fees continued to be relatively well off. He was also worried about their potential military power. He substantiated his fears by expanding on the recusants' considerable interest in horses:

> It hath for these 2 years past beene observed by his ma^{ties} good subiect*e*s, y^{t} many of o*u*r northern recusant*e*s, had and have more horses in there stables then they are otherwyse worth. & what huntinge*s* & matches have beene of late appoynted, & euer between them selves wherevnto resorted many well affected, but chiefly as lookers on; but the vulgar all as admyrers, & divided as the fashion is half on one syde, half on the other, to muse & gaze on, & to magnifie modo hunc modo illum [now this one, then that one]. sometymes hundred*e*s in the field at once. & the chiefe recusant*e*s.[25]

At the time, the horse-racing gatherings were a fairly recent phenomenon. James claimed that they had started around two years before his time of writing, in 1603, the year of King

[24] TNA, SP 14/17 fol. 32^{r}.
[25] TNA, SP 14/17 fol. 32^{v}.

James' succession. Since we know that William James had been employed in the diocese of Durham since 1596, he would have been privy to these new trends in Catholic sociability. Whether James' observations are correct or not, he clearly associated recusant hunting and racing with their growing confidence, which coincided with the reign of the new king.

Probably the most intriguing part of the letter is the dean's actual description of a horse-racing match and its quite spectacular dimensions. Firstly, he claims that participants are mainly Catholics; conforming Protestant gentlemen do join the crowd, but mainly as spectators. Secondly, the events are attended by a multitude of commoners, who gaze on and admire the upper-class horse-racers. It is important to note that in early elite racing, which had clear military bases, the horses would commonly be mounted by their aristocratic owners.[26] Therefore, the vulgar sort was not so much praising a professional jockey or a particular horse, but primarily the owners of horses, the local nobility and landlords. William James was worried about how such engagement in horse racing enabled wealthier Catholics to both practice and display their martial prowess and procure prestige among the commoners, who might also have been their tenants and coreligionists. A horse-racing match as described by the dean was not just an innocent pastime, but an expedient for accumulating social capital and sustaining communal networks and values.

We are lucky that entries in Thomas Chaytor's diary actually give us an insider's perspective on Catholic horse racing. I will discuss only one entry, which probably dates from May 1613, and which is particularly fascinating because of its length and a series of special wagers taken for vast sums of money:

[26] For history of early modern horse racing see Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Continuum, 2006); Roger Longrigg, *The History of Horse Racing* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1972). Peter Edward's latest book *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish, First Earl of Devonshire (1551–1626) and his Horses* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), was published too late to be considered here.

This yeare: S*i*r George Conyers did winne the golden Cupp att Rainton & Turk my brother Henry Tempest the siluer.

Att Gaterly S*i*r will*ia*m Gascoyn wonne.

Att hambleton S*i*r George Conyers mare bett a mare of S*i*r will*ia*m Blaxton.

Puppie a horse of S*i*r John fenwick batt a horse of the L: Kethes in Scotland

Afterward a challendge was maid for 200^{li} att Laugerby betwixt puppie & a horse of S*i*r Will*ia*m webbes: puppie Lost the wager preter omn*i*um opinionem [beyond the opinion of everyone].

The same day a match of 6 that rune for 20^{li} a peace where Sir george Conyers Mare was one & for a revenge Sre will*ia*m Blaxeston Mare that was bett as aboue is said followed & bett all that rune there emongest w*hic*h a horse of my lo Scropes called Gregory that cost him a great price & x^{li} he gaue that he might rune emongest them for one he lost: & for a reveng challendged that Mare of Sre will*ia*m Blaxton w*hic*h Sre Will*ia*m Webb had for a great sume bought to rune for 200^{li} Sir henry Woddrington ranne the Maire & my lord scrop Gregorie & 5 staffes beinge placed in the race \20^{li} everie staffe/ the Maire won them all & there in \yt/ the wager: & gregorie holden for a jade & my lord an unfortunate Man in buyinge him

sic transit gloria Mundi[27]

The majority of competitors were indeed, as William James claimed, Catholics or individuals with strong Catholic connections. Sir George Conyers of Sockburn was a church papist (his wife was a recusant), Sir William Blakiston of Norton was a recusant, Henry Tempest was a son of the conforming Catholic Sir Nicholas Tempest of Stella, Sir Henry Widdrington had Catholic sympathies (his brother Roger was a notorious Northumberland

[27] PGL, Add.MS.866, ff. 13^{v}–14^{r}.

recusant), and Sir William Gascoigne was probably a member of the Catholic Gascoignes of Barnbow and Parlington in Yorkshire. Emanuel Scrope of Bolton, who succeeded Lord Sheffield as the President of the Council of the North in 1619, was a crypto-Catholic. Only Sir John Fenwick of Wallington, a border commissioner in Northumberland, and Lord Keith, who was probably William Keith, a son of the fourth Earl Marshal, stand out clearly as Protestants. The racecourses mentioned were Rainton in North Yorkshire, Gatherley Moor near Richmond, North Yorkshire, Hambleton in North York Moors, some racecourse in Scotland, possibly close to the Northumberland border, such as Haddington in East Lothian, and Laugerby, i.e. Langwathby in Cumberland. The race at Langwathby, which is described in great detail by Chaytor, was allegedly patronized by Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle, an avowed Catholic; his sons Francis and Charles certainly attended the race in 1612.[28]

Chaytor's diary gives us an impression of a tightly knit community of horse-racers, who regularly meet, socialize, and affirm bonds of friendship. More importantly, they are all men of substantial standing, some of them exerting their influence and power through public offices. In fact, what seems to define them is their integration in society and lack of any intentional subversive edge, which William James was perhaps alluding to in 1605.

Throughout my thesis I use the term 'Catholic' not only to denote a 'recusant' in a narrow sense, an individual refusing to attend the Protestant Church of England and subjected to paying recusancy fines, but also an individual who adopted a more fluid and liminal religious identity which enabled a better accommodation within the Protestant regime and consequently a better integration within society.[29] Here I take the lead from the

[28] George Ornsby (ed.), *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle: With an Appendix Containing Some of His Papers and Letters, and Other Documents, Illustrative of His Life and Times*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 68 (Durham, 1878), p. 49; for details on the northern race courses see John Fairfax-Blakeborough, *Northern Turf History*, 4 vols. (London: Allen, 1946–73).
[29] For a good overview of the legal framework of recusancy see Hugh Bowler's introduction in *Recusant Roll no. 2, 1593–1594*, CRS vol. 57 (London: CRS, 1965).

recent developments in early modern Catholic studies, which in the last two decades have radically transformed the once marginal and narrowly defined 'recusant history' into a vibrant field of inquiry into complexities of, on the one hand, Catholic identity, social integration, religious practice, and on the other, Catholic literature and culture, both at home and among the exiles on the Continent.[30] One of the crucial lessons to emerge from this momentous shift is that confessional boundaries in post-Reformation England were remarkably permeable and fluid. Michael Questier stressed the importance of rejecting a monolithic representation of post-Reformation religious identities in England which relies on an opposition between two completely discrete and homogenous blocks: Protestant and Catholic.[31] Moreover, the spectre of Catholic identities defined by the ecclesiastical conformity records, which distinguish between conformists, recusants, church papists, and noncommunicants, is too narrow and cannot take into account the nuances of individuals' belief and modifications of identities following political change and social pressure.[32] In the north-east of England, moderate and more accommodating Catholics were characterized by

[30] A select bibliography would include: Michael C. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Lisa McClain, *Lest We Be Damned: Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642* (London: Routledge, 2004); Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Alison Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and a number of important essay collections, Ethan Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation"* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Ronald Corthell et al. (eds.), *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); Lowell Gallagher (ed.), *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (eds.), *The English Convents in Exile, 1600-1800: Communities, Culture and Identity* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); and Alexandra Walsham's collected essays, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015).

[31] Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, p. 9.

[32] Cf. Ethan Shagan, 'Introduction: English Catholic History in Context', in *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation"*, pp. 1–21 (pp. 14–18).

their positive attitude towards the controversial oath of allegiance and by steadfast loyalism to Stuart dynasty.[33] Moderate, practicing Catholics, who were also willing to compromise and collaborate with Protestant authorities, feature prominently in the subsequent chapters.

The thesis is structured around two case studies. In the chapter 'Dance, Festivity, and Evangelisation' I discuss the case of a recusant dancing master, Robert Hindmers, and his wife Anne. In August 1615, the couple, associated with the Catholic mission in England, was arrested for recusancy. Bishop James accused Robert of using dance to enter household in his diocese and corrupt them by spreading heretical belief. I discuss the career and activities of Robert Hindmers and consider to what extent performance, in particular dance, might have been used as an evangelizing tool in the north-east.

If the Hindmers' case focuses on the subversive elements of Catholic entertainment and sociability, the subsequent chapters explore a considerably different Catholic agenda. In April 1617, King James VI and I visited Newcastle on his way to Scotland. He was entertained in the city for almost a fortnight and most probably saw a performance of Anthony Brewer's play *The Lovesick King* (first publ. 1655). The play, I argue, articulates values of the Newcastle elite in general, but can also be interpreted as particularly congenial to the beliefs and political values of moderate, conforming Catholics, who held that only unequivocal loyalty to the king would eventually win them religious toleration.

On the one hand, the two parts of the thesis reflect the latitude of Catholic identity and Catholic experience of the oppressive Protestant regime, and on the other, the diverging uses of entertainment. While Robert Hindmers' position was subversive – he used his occupation and skills as a dancing master to help the mission – the performance of *The Lovesick King* became an expression of Catholic loyalism and an expedient for religious toleration.

[33] See Michael C. Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity and the Accession of James I', *Historical Research* 71/174 (1998), pp. 14–30.

2 Dance, Festivity, and Evangelisation

In a prefatory letter to *Saint Peter's Complaint* (1595), the Jesuit Robert Southwell (1561–95) rebuked poets, who 'abusing their talent' make 'follies and fayninges of loue, the customary subiect of their base endeuours'.[34] The best course to reclaim poetry from the Devil's perversion and let the poets see their errors was, according to Southwell, 'to weaue a new webb in their owne loome', to demonstrate to them 'how well verse and virtue sute together'.[35] Although he refrained 'of mirth to make a trade', Southwell nevertheless condoned the human need for literary recreation, but only if religious supplanted secular poetry, that is, when 'verse to virtue' was applied.[36] Even if Southwell did not openly articulate the confessional dimensions of his poetics, later Southwellian Catholic writers did. For them, appreciation of virtuous literature went hand-in-hand with repentance and conversion to Catholicism.[37] However, Southwell's poetic principles should not only be restricted to literary analysis, but also employed to investigate strategies of Counter-Reformation culture in general.

Robert Hindmers (b. 1585) was an early-seventeenth-century Catholic dancing master, born and professionally active in the North East of England. Unlike Southwell, he applied measures to virtue rather than verse and did in fact make trade out of mirth. Yet even though we may think his recreations were primarily bodily, not spiritual, Hindmers was well regarded by the Newcastle-based secular priest William Southerne (1579–1618) and fully integrated within the Catholic community in the diocese of Durham. This chapter considers the post-Reformation Catholic appropriation of dance and its use in missionary strategies. Little evidence exists of confessionalized dance in Jacobean England and hardly any

[34] Robert Southwell, *Saint Peter's complaint, with other poems* (London: Wolfe, 1595), sig. A2^{r}; cf. Richard Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 126–43.
[35] Southwell, *Saint Peter's complaint*, sig. A2^{v}.
[36] Ibid., sig. A3^{r}.
[37] Alison Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 89–106; cf. Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination*, pp. 56–77.

scholarship discusses connections between dance practice and Catholic proselytizing.[38] However, this microhistorical study of the career of a Durham-born recusant dancing master not only stresses the importance of dance within the North-Eastern Catholic community, but also offers a more subtle portrayal of the dancing profession in early Stuart England, which has been so far predominantly informed by courtly dance culture and careers of more prominent Oxford-, London-, and court-based dancing masters.[39]

[38] Dance as part of calendrical festivity or unruly Sunday recreations is normally associated with traditionalist, survivalist or pre-Reformation Catholic identity, and not with evangelization and conversion. See John Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing, 1458–1750* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 186–214; Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, pp. 38–45; Christopher Marsh, Music and Society in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 354–81; Emily Winerock, 'Churchyard Capers: The controversial Use of Church Space for Dancing in Early Modern England' in *The Sacralization of Space and Behaviour in the Early Modern World: Studies and Sources*, ed. by Jenifer Maria DeSilva (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 233–56. Later seventeenth-century Jesuit ballet in Paris has however been linked with evangelization among the upper classes; see Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louise-le-Grand: Baroque Dance on the Jesuit Stage in Paris* (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), pp. 27–38.

[39] The bibliography on early dance is substantial, cf. Jennifer Nevile, 'Decorum and Desire: Dance in Renaissance Europe and the Maturation of a Discipline', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 68/2 (2015), 579–612. For dancing at court and the Inns of Court see the pioneering work by Mabel Dolmetsch, *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600: With Their Music and Authentic Manner of Performance* (London: Routledge, 1949); articles and conference proceedings published by *Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society* (www.dlhds.org.uk), particularly the work of Anne Daye and David Wilson; James P. Cunningham, *Dancing in the Inns of Court* (London: Jordan, 1965); Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998; Jennifer Nevile, *The Eloquent Body: Dance and Humanist Culture in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Margaret M. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Jennifer Nevile, *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250–1750* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); Alan H. Nelson, 'New Light on Drama, Music, and Dancing at the Inns of Court to 1642', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne E. Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 302–14; Bella Mirabella, "'In the sight of all": Queen Elizabeth and the Dance of Diplomacy', *Early Theatre*, 15/1 (2012), 65–89.

For details on particular dancing masters see *REED: Oxford*, vol. 2, ed. by John R. Elliott, Alan H. Nelson, Alexandra F. Johnston, and Diana Wyatt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 622; Andrew Ashbee and David Lasocki (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485–1714*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998); Berthélemy de Montagut, *Lounage de la danse: In Praise of the Dance*, ed. by Barbara Ravelhofer (Cambridge: RTM Publications, 2000); and Marsh, *Music and Society*, p. 331, who gives some evidence of dancing masters from around the country.

For dancing on stage and more popular dance forms, see Charles R. Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); Max W. Thomas, 'Kemps Nine Daies Wonder: Dancing Carnival into Market', *PMLA*, 107/3 (1992), 511–23; Audrey Douglas, "'Owre Thanssynge Day": Parish Dance and Procession in Salisbury', in *English Parish Drama*, ed. by Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 41–63; Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing*; Jennifer Kiek, "'We'll Have a Crash Here in the Yard". English Country Dance in Early Modern Stage Plays: an Introduction', *DHDS Conference Proceedings* (2005), pp. 65–72.; Jean E. Howard, *Theatre of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 162–208; Peter Parolin, '"If I had begun to dance": Women's Performance in Kemps Nine Daies Wonder', *Early Theatre*, 15/1 (2012), 45–63; Brett D. Hirsch, 'Hornpipes and Disordered Dancing in *The Late Lancashire Witches*: A Reel Crux?', *Early Theatre* 16/1 (2013), 139–49; Robert Clegg, Lucie Skeaping, and Anne Daye (eds.), *Singing Simpkin and Other*

In many respects, Robert Hindmers was not at all a typical man of the trade. He rose to teach the gentlemanly art from the lower orders of society and, more importantly, coupled his profession with a more unusual companion: the English Catholic mission. In the spring of 1615, Hindmers turned recusant and, at least for a period of several months, led what appears to be a semi-itinerant lifestyle together with his wife Anne. Avoiding the sheriff and his servants, the couple probably travelled around Tyneside or even further afield; in addition to offering dance lessons, it appears they also encouraged their fellow countrymen to return to the fold of the Roman Catholic Church. They appropriated an essential practice of festive and courtly cultures and wove around it a web of new meaning. Robert's dancing not only became associated with traditional Catholicism, but also with evangelization and reinforced piety. The proselytizing itineracy of the Hindmers was, however, short-lived. In August 1615, Robert was imprisoned by the Durham High Commission for recusancy and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. Anne was brought before judges at Newcastle, but no further detailes of her case survive.

Much like the recusant Simpson players, a semi-professional recusant theatre company from Egton which toured the North Yorkshire households and towns in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Hindmers participated in communal affirmations of Catholic identity.[40] And yet evidence suggests that such participatory sociability of Catholic sympathizers as dancing or, in the case of the Simpsons, acting and communal laughter, which involved individuals both physically and mentally, had more intentionally subversive and far-reaching socially transformative consequences: sustained

Bawdy Jigs. Musical Comedy on the Shakespearean Stage: Scripts, Music and Context (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2014).

[40] For more on the Simpson players, see Charles J. Sisson, 'Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies. With Some Account of Cholmeley's Players and a New Shakespeare Allusion', *The Review of English Studies* 18/70 (1942), pp. 129–43; Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire'; Jensen, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community'; Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, pp. 271–93; Siobhan Keenan, 'The Simpson Players of Jacobean Yorkshire and the Professional Stage', *Theatre Notebook*, 67/1 (2013), pp. 16–35.

recusancy and reconciliation to the Roman communion. Although the proselytizing intentions of the Simpsons seem less pronounced, their connections with the mission are hard to overlook.[41] The Hindmers were certainly collaborating with William Southerne and it was probably the couple's extraordinary missionary zeal which invited the ecclesiastical commission's energetic suppression of their itinerant venture.

The case of Robert Hindmers traverses and links many related issues, such as Counter-Reformation culture, festive revelry, religious politics, and the interconnectedness of elite and popular culture. This chapter examines the available manuscript sources surrounding the dancer's case and discusses them within the wider social, religious, and cultural developments of Jacobean Durham. I begin with a contextual analysis of the letter written by William James (1542–1617), Bishop of Durham, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which represents the single most informative document on the dancer. I move on to examine intelligence of the bishop's spy and legal records which reflect the career of Robert Hindmers, and I will conclude with an assessment of the significance of dancing within the Durham Catholic community.

2.1 The Bishop's Letter

On 16 August 1615, Bishop James wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Abbot (1562–1633), concerning what seemed, at the time, a rapidly escalating Catholic

[41] Boddy, 'Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire', pp. 105, 116–18; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 288–91; Margaret Urquhart, 'Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?', *Chelys: The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society*, 21 (1992), 3–26; W. J. Sheils, 'Catholics and Their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry, 1590–1780', *Northern History*, 34/1 (1998), 116–21; Wilson, *Secret Shakespeare*, pp. 271–75. Egton was a thriving recusant community in the immediate vicinity of the dilapidating Grosmont Priory, an important centre for seminary priests. Christopher Simpson junior, the son of the manager of the company and a master viol player, might have become a Jesuit in 1619. Nicholas Postgate was another member of the company who later became a priest: he was admitted to the seminary at Douai in 1621 and returned to England in 1630 as a missionary in North Yorkshire; he was martyred at York in 1679. Equally significant is the fact that John Yorke's son Christopher, who performed a part of the devil in the seditious interlude performed by the Simpsons at the Yorke manor Gowlthwaite Hall in 1610, later became a Carthusian monk.

recusant crisis.[42] At least since mid-July, James' spy, Christopher Newkirk of Gateshead, a surgeon of Polish origin, had been infiltrating a well-organized network of priests and lay Catholics in the North-Eastern counties, including Yorkshire, who were apparently devising a new gunpowder treason: an attack on the king and his family ten years after the failed attempt of 5 November 1605. Evidence pointing to the exact beginnings of Newkirk's mission is unfortunately missing, but the spy's reports inform us of a date of 12 July at the latest.[43]

On 16 August, however, Bishop James had not yet been aware of the full extent of the plot which his spy had been uncovering. He had yet no knowledge of the three engines allegedly built by Ambrogio Spinola's engineer Alexander Malatesta somewhere in the hills of Cardiganshire, nor of the level of logistical sophistication of the plotters, who, in Newkirk's words, 'haue almost in eu*er*ye Creake, or haven Towne, some Vessils'.[44] Nevertheless, only a week later, James yet again reported back to the Archbishop. This time, amazed by the scale of the unravelling plot, he wondered whether the Privy Council was already aware of its pending danger to the state and had taken the necessary measures to prevent the catastrophe.[45] Indeed, the most striking feature of the available papers surrounding the correspondence seems to be the absence of any immediate interest in James' reports. George Abbot shrewdly communicated Newkirk's intelligence to the secretary of state Ralph Winwood (1563–1617) on 17 August, stressing the involvement of a priest called Winter (the son of Robert Winter (1568–1606), the executed conspirator) in this new conspiracy, but on the whole, the Council appears not to have shared William James' anxieties.[46] The impression we get from the available documents, and the affair in general, seems to confirm James' suspicions that the

[42] See TNA, SP 14/81, fols. 92^{r}–93^{v}.
[43] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 115^{v}.
[44] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 115^{v}.
[45] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 113^{r}.
[46] TNA, SP 14/81, fols. 96^{r}–97^{v}.

London government had already been aware of the scheme from other sources. In any case, the conspirators experienced setbacks and the attack ultimately never took place.[47]

Although national concerns already feature prominently in Bishop James' deliberations of 16 August – he commented on the rumors of a Catholic invasion and wondered what Winter and Digby, two Worcestershire men, are doing in the north-eastern parts of the kingdom – he seemed to be, initially, more alarmed by the local repercussions of the unprecedented 'flocking*e*s of Priest*e*s […] in Newcastle, a Haven, & walled Towne, wherein there was w*i*thin thes fewe yeares not one Recusant'.[48] James' formulations seem hyperbolic, contrived to persuade the head of the Church of England and an eminent privy councillor that the situation in the North was dire, that the king 'must be pleased (if he will regarde his owne safetye, and the safetie of his kingdomes) to alter this lenitye toward*e*s the Priest*e*s, who (whatsoeuer they, or their fauourers enforme his Ma*ie*stie) thirst after nothing but bloode'.[49]

However visceral James' rhetoric may sound, his language remains precise. He is careful not to dissociate the rise of recusancy from the missionary activity of the seminaries, nor to mislabel papists in general for recusants. Non-communicantcy, church non-attendance, and recusancy were bureaucratic and legal categories which could not open windows into men's souls. Yet the only way the Church of England could objectively manage their reforming endeavours within a particular diocese was through scrutiny of these non-conforming practices. Aside from the fact that recusancy numbers cannot truly reflect the exact numbers of Catholics, it is hard for historians to determine the exact causes of the fluctuation in recusancy numbers, which may be a consequence of Catholic zeal and confidence, or simply a reflection of the intensity of persecution.

[47] See Newkirk's last report from 17 September 1615 (TNA, SP 14/81, fols. 167^{r}–169^{v}) and excerpts from his memorials dating between 17 September and 22 October (TNA, SP 14/88, fols. 217^{r}–218^{r}).
[48] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 92^{r}.
[49] Ibid.

Since 1583, when Queen Elizabeth I granted the ninety-nine-year Grand Lease of the immensely profitable coal mines in Gateshead and Whickham to the then mayor Henry Anderson and his associate, alderman William Selby, Newcastle-upon-Tyne's civic institutions had been overwhelmingly in the hands of the influential coal-merchant families, which were, after 1600, newly incorporated as the Company of Hostmen.[50] Many of these families, such as Selbys, Chapmans, Jenisons, Tempests, Riddells, and Hodgsons, had strong Catholic inclinations and, due to local political and social legacies, tended to conform and cooperate with the authorities, although they secretly supported the English mission and protected the Catholic community.[51] James, who had been working in the diocese since 1596 (first as dean, and then, from 1606, as bishop), was more than aware of the supposed religious backwardness of the North East.[52] He also knew that patterns of conformity alone, being fluid and dependent on economic and political pressures and specific communal attitudes towards state policies, could not entirely reflect true religious identities and practices. James was aware of how widespread church-papistry was in the diocese and that this semi-conforming Catholicism dangerously thwarted any efforts of diocesan authorities at bringing Newcastle to genuine conformity.[53]

[50] See John Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal Industry*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp. 509–25; Richard Welford, *History of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 2 (London: Scott, 1885), pp. 53-55, 136–43; F. W. Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1901), pp. xxix–xxxiii.

[51] Rosamund Oates, 'Catholicism, Conformity and the Community in the Elizabethan Diocese of Durham', *Northern History*, 43/1 (2006), 53–76, (pp. 67–76); Eric Clavering, 'Catholics and the Rise of the Durham Coal Trade', *Northern Catholic History* 16 (1982), 16–32; Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics, and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), pp. 70, 138–40; see also the report of William Morton, the vicar of St. Nicholas' in Newcastle and archdeacon of Durham, on Newcastle aldermen from 1616 (TNA, SP 14/88, fol. 149^{r-v}).

[52] See James' letter to Cecil, 16 January 1597, TNA, SP 12/262, fol. 18^{r-v}. Describing the North as uncivil and Catholic was a commonplace in the early modern period; for a succinct discussion of the issue see 'Introduction'.

[53] Oates, 'Catholicism, Conformity and the Community', pp. 71–73; cf. TNA, SP 14/17, fol. 32^{v}; LPL, Thomas Murray Papers (TMP), MS 663, fol. 50^{r-v}.

After James I's accession, the enthusiastic support for the Stuart dynasty among the northern Catholic gentry of the Neville circle complicated matters even further.[54] Particularly in the North, '[p]apistry was regarded as a threat precisely because of its malleability, its capacity to adapt and its readiness to integrate'.[55] Therefore, notwithstanding Bishop Toby Matthew's (1546–1628) recusancy report from January 1596, which lists only four recusants in the city itself, Newcastle had by then already developed into a thriving Catholic centre.[56]

Thereafter, recusancy increased.[57] Yet micro-variations in numbers during the eleven years of William James' incumbency in the diocese of Durham are important for our subsequent discussion. In the Palatinate of Durham alone, which at the time included substantial lands in Northumberland, the number of convicted recusants decreased from around 450 individuals in 1608 to merely 289 in 1613.[58] However, recusancy gained ground again in the following years. Around 1615, there were 432 convicted recusants in the Palatinate alone.[59] Bishop James clearly and openly articulated these developments in June 1616 in a letter to Ralph Winwood (1563–1617). Speaking with the whole diocese of Durham in mind, James claimed that ten years previously, at the commencement of his episcopacy, the number of recusants had been around 700.[60] This number had been, after '4 or 5 yeares by the

[54] For a detailed discussion of the politics of conformity in the North before and immediately after James I's succession see Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity'.
[55] Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity', p. 30.
[56] C. Talbot (ed.), *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, Publications of the CRS, vol. 53 (London: CRS, 1961), p. 60. This contrasts with Durham city parishes, where more than sixteen recusants are identified (Thomas Forcer's household in St. Margaret's was completely recusant, including unnamed family members and servants); see Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 50–53. Cf. John A. Hilton, 'Catholicism in Elizabethan Northumberland', *Northern History*, 13/1 (1977), 44–58 (p. 53).
[57] James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society*, pp. 142–3; John A. Hilton, 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham', *Recusant History*, 14 (1977), 78–85.
[58] See the extant recusant report for county Durham in LPL, TMP, MS 663, fol. 50$^{r–v}$, and a list of recusants in the diocese of Durham from 1613 appended to William James' letter regarding the recent musters in the county, TNA, SP 14/75, fols. 3^{v}–4^{r}.
[59] LPL, Miscellaneous Papers, MS 930/123, 1 fol.; and Durham quarter session indictments of 19 April 1615, in C. M. Fraser (ed.), *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1471-1625*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 199 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1991), pp. 245–49. The number suggested by MS 930/123 is in contradiction with the number of the 1615 Quarter sessions indictments. The former reports 432 recusants, indicating that the levels of recusancy had almost returned to those of 1608, while the latter amount to c. 330 individuals. The reason for this discrepancy may be due to the missing Michaelmas and Epiphany Quarter sessions for 1615. Cf. Hilton, 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham', p. 81; James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society*, pp. 142–43.
[60] TNA, SP 14/80, fol. 184^{r}.

Eccl*esiasti*call Com*m*ission, & other Meanes, brought to 400', but 'lately encreased againe to the number of 500 & odd'.[61] The latest figure James referred to must have been from 1613, since it had been communicated to the king at the last parliament, in spring 1614.[62] However, a new 'p*ar*ticular & true Certificate of all the Recusant*e*s w*i*thin this Diocese' was soon to be prepared, following the bishop's three-week visitation of the diocese, so James was not yet sure whether the figure had increased or diminished.

The numbers had in fact increased. In March 1616, Henry Anderson (1583–1659), at the time sheriff of Northumberland, already reported to the Council that there were 507 popish recusants and 432 non-communicants in Northumberland alone.[63] It is highly probable that the Lambeth Palace Library recusancy report, provisionally dated to c. 1615, was actually from 1616 and based on James' diocesan visitation mentioned in his letter to Winwood. If that is the case, then recusancy numbers in the diocese of Durham had grown drastically, from 519 convicted recusants in 1613 to almost 1,000 in 1616. Thriving evangelization and revived Catholic confidence in Durham and the English Middle Shires can generally be ascribed to the increased influence of the pro-Catholic Howards after the death of George Home (1556–1611), Earl of Dunbar, the chief border commissioner, in January 1611, and Robert Cecil, Dunbar's vigorous supporter, in May 1612.[64]

In Newcastle itself, increasing religious tensions may have contributed to the concurrent growth of recusancy in the city.[65] By the mid-1610s, the safe houses within the city could rely on several recusant strongholds in the surrounding Tyneside region, which provided indispensable support for itinerant seminary priests. The most important were the

[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] TNA, SP 14/86, fol. 197^{r} (published in George Ornsby (ed.), *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle: With an Appendix Containing Some of his Papers and Letters, and Other Documents, Illustrative of his Life and Times*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 68 (Durham, 1878), p. 432).
[64] Susan J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586–1625* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975), pp. 179–91.
[65] See Clavering, 'Catholics and the Rise', p. 18; Newton, *North-East England*, pp. 126–35.

houses of Sir Robert Hodgson at Hebburn and Dorothy Lawson (1580–1632), first at Heaton and after 1616 at Saint Anthony's, right on the north bank of the river Tyne.[66] Although both houses, often working in tandem, were notorious for harbouring priests and other recusants, authorities were unable to arrest the ringleaders and suppress their subversive enterprise. Cross-confessional solidarity was most probably the reason why in 1626 Bishop Richard Neile was still struggling to break this Tyneside connection.[67] In 1625, Protestant mayor Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth refused to spy on his Catholic friends and neighbours and completely dismissed Neile's suspicions about the two houses, where, according to Liddell, the aldermen's inquiry had found nothing 'but idle report'.[68]

The rise of nonconformity and the increased activity of priests both indicate that the Catholic population throughout the diocese felt confident enough to step into full recusancy. It is during this period that we first hear of Robert and Anne Hindmers. In August 1615, Bishop James intriguingly chose to expand on an unusual account of persecution in order to illustrate to the Archbishop of Canterbury the gravity of recent developments:

> Since that time, my Intelligencer [Christopher Newkirk] hath bene w*i*th me, & deliuered to me this, w*hi*ch I send your Gr*ace* herein enclosed wherein I use his owne wordes. He maketh mention of a dauncer, a poore mans sonne, borne in this Citie, yet proude, & insolent, and lately made a Recusant, and by his daunceing crept into manie houses, and his wife a younge woman (being both Recusants) haue done much harme and might haue done more. At his first com*m*ing before vs, I vsed him (knowinge his frendes to be verie poore, & needie, & his mother blinde) in the best

[66] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 85[r]; James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society*, pp. 138–39; William Palmes, *Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson of St. Anthony's near Newcastle*, ed. by G. B. Richardson (London: Dolman, 1855); Roland Connelly, 'Dorothy Lawson (1580–1652[sic]), Newcastle Heroine of The Catholic Resistance in England', *Northern Catholic History*, 39 (1998), 7–14.
[67] See Neile to the Council, TNA, SP 16/30, fols. 62[r]–63[v].
[68] Welford, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 264–65; Richard Welford, *Men of Mark 'Twixt Tyne and Tweed*, vol. 3 (London: Scott, 1895), pp. 39–40.

> sorte I coulde, and he refuseing all conference; as also to take the oathe of Allegiann*n*ce; wee com*m*itted him to Prison the third of this instant, where he hath remained, & yet doth. Vpon Consideraci*o*n of the enformaci*o*n herein enclosed, I willed the Gaoler, to offer him from me, that if he would be content to be instructed by anie learned man, that he might haue his lib*er*tie, and time to thinke of the oathe of Allegiann*n*ce; But he grewe so resolute as that he woulde accept of neither, whereby your Gr*ace* maie see what hopes, & encouragement they haue.[69]

To my knowledge, this reference has not yet been considered by performance experts although it bears some importance for dance history, not least because the dancer's wife had clearly travelled, worked, and possibly performed alongside her husband.[70] Even though the letter is not explicitly confirming that she also danced, similar records of itinerant performers from the period, in which professional husbands were accompanied by lay wives, who would very likely contribute to the performance in some capacity, allow us to reasonably speculate about the active involvement of the dancer's wife.[71] More importantly, in spite of the bishop's scant description of the couple's evangelizing venture, it is nevertheless clear that dance played some part in it.

James uses the dancer as an exemplum in order to articulate the current concerns within the diocese and convey his own political appeal. The bishop's narrative challenges not only the expected social and economic modus vivendi of the post-Reformation Catholic community, but, more importantly, defies the government strategies used to enforce religious

[69] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 92[r].
[70] The itinerant recusant dancer has only received a short remark by John A. Hilton, who mentions the episode to illustrate glimpses of cultural life among Durham Catholics ('Catholicism in Jacobean Durham', p. 82).
[71] On the ambiguitiy of the records of performance, particularly those involving women, see Sara Mueller, 'Touring, Women, and the English Professional Stage, *Early Theatre*, 11/1 (2008), 53–76. Although evidence is scarce, scholars have been increasingly more interested in women's performance in England before 1660, see Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin (eds.), *Women Players in England, 1500–1660: Beyond the All-Male Stage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); and M. A. Katritzky, *Women, Medicine, and Theatre, 1500–1750: Literary Mountbanks and Performing Quacks* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

conformity: pecuniary punishments for church non-attendance do not necessarily prevent those without land or goods from recusancy. The poor appear to be the source of a double anxiety for the state: first, as an ideological other who cannot be subdued and neutralized through political exclusion and economic suppression, and secondly, as the 'Rabble of Popish Recusant*e*s', a force which could potentially, if it collectively embraced non-conformity, stretch the governmental means of lawful repression to a breaking point.[72]

Bishop James deliberately evoked these fears to solicit a vigorous response of the central government to regional issues which threatened to become of national importance. The dancer thus becomes a symbol of a wider symptom: he encapsulates the new papist zeal made fresh by numerous illegal priests, a zeal which, quite unlike what leaders of the national Church would have expected, is receiving its impetus from the lower orders of society. However, the tenor of the exemplum not only illustrates the power of the seminaries' pastoral care, which can successfully exhort even poor dancers with blind mothers to stubbornly keep their apostasy. It also suggests that papist seducers can assume a most unusual shape: that of a dancer.

2.2 Creeping into Houses

Legally speaking, the question of the dancer's imprisonment is easy to settle: he was incarcerated for his recusancy, and, more importantly, for refusing to take the controversial oath of allegiance. According to the *Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants* (3–4 Jac. I., c. 4), introduced by James I in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot,

[72] See LP, TMP, MS 663, fol. 50$^{r–v}$. In the accompanying letter James also addressed the issue of proceeding against the multitude of poor papists who could not afford to pay recusancy fines and would only be coerced to conformity through imprisonment or threat of banishment. On contemporary definitions of poverty and the Catholic poor see Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), pp. 148–49; John A. Hilton, 'The Catholic Poor: Paupers and Vagabonds 1580–1780', in *Catholics of Parish and Town, 1558–1778*, ed. by Marie B. Rowlands, Publications of the CRS, Monograph Series, vol. 5 (London: CRS, 1999), pp. 115–28.

any person, except for noblemen and noblewomen, of eighteen years or above, convicted or indicted for recusancy and refusing to take the oath when tendered to them by a bishop or two justices of the peace, were to be committed 'to the common gaol […] until the next assizes or general or quarter sessions'.[73] If, furthermore, the imprisoned recusant rejected the oath again at the next assizes or quarter session, he or she incurred the penalty of *praemunire*.[74]

The oath was evidently tendered to the dancer by the bishop and not the two justices, since William James was quite precise in describing his personal involvement in the legal process. Existing quarter sessions indictments of Durham consistory court records do not mention any recusant dancers.[75] More revealing, however, are the papers of the High Commission court within the diocese of Durham, which cover the period from 1614 until 1617.[76] Often written in a small, barely legible secretary hand and mostly in English, the *ex officio* correction cases are interspersed between long lists of recusants, the majority being gentry, for whom attachments, that is arrest warrants, have been issued by the commission. The sheriffs' success in apprehending recusants was poor (often because of their own Catholic inclinations). On each subsequent session of the court, which usually occurred once every month, the warrants for the great majority of the accused were reissued.

In his letter to the archbishop, James claims that he incarcerated the dancer on 'the third of this instant', that is 3 August 1615. The commission was indeed in session on that day, during which the sheriff of Newcastle, John Cook, 'c*er*tyfied that none of the p*er*sons

[73] G. W. Prothero (ed.), *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 258.
[74] Cf. Clarence J. Ryan, 'The Jacobean Oath of Allegiance and English Lay Catholics', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 28/2 (1942), pp. 159–83. *Praemunire* is the offence of acknowledging superiority of papal or foreign jurisdiction over the Crown. It was punishable by deprivation of all civil rights, confiscation of all property, and perpetual imprisonment at the king's pleasure. On the controversies surrounding the oath and its ideological significance see Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early–Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 132–93; Michael Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *The Historical Journal*, 40/2 (1997), 311–29; Johann P. Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', in *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation"*, pp. 162–82.
[75] See PGL, DDR/EJ/CCA/2/7A-B; Fraser, *Durham Quarter Sessions Rolls*.
[76] DCL, DCD/D/SJB/7.

named in the said attachm*en*t could be found w*i*thin his baliwick excepte Rob*e*rt Hindm*e*rs & Anne his wife'.[77] There is no mention of Robert's or Anne's occupation, but the details found in the proceedings on the next folio (fig. 1) match perfectly with the bishop's narrative in the letter. '[H]e appeared', the small writing next to Robert's name affirms, and 'refused to co*n*form &c or to take the oath of alleagiance being offered to tend*e*red to him as also to tak tyme off*er*ed to him to advise th*er*eof till 5 of the clock'.[78] Since Robert refused to take the oath and also to be advised on it in a private conference, 'the said Com*missione*rs did com*m*itt him to the gaole'.[79] Anne, on the other hand, did not appear at the Durham session together with her husband. Instead, the sheriff reported that she was 'apprehe*nd*ed & app*ear*eth before the Judges at Newcastle this day'.[80]

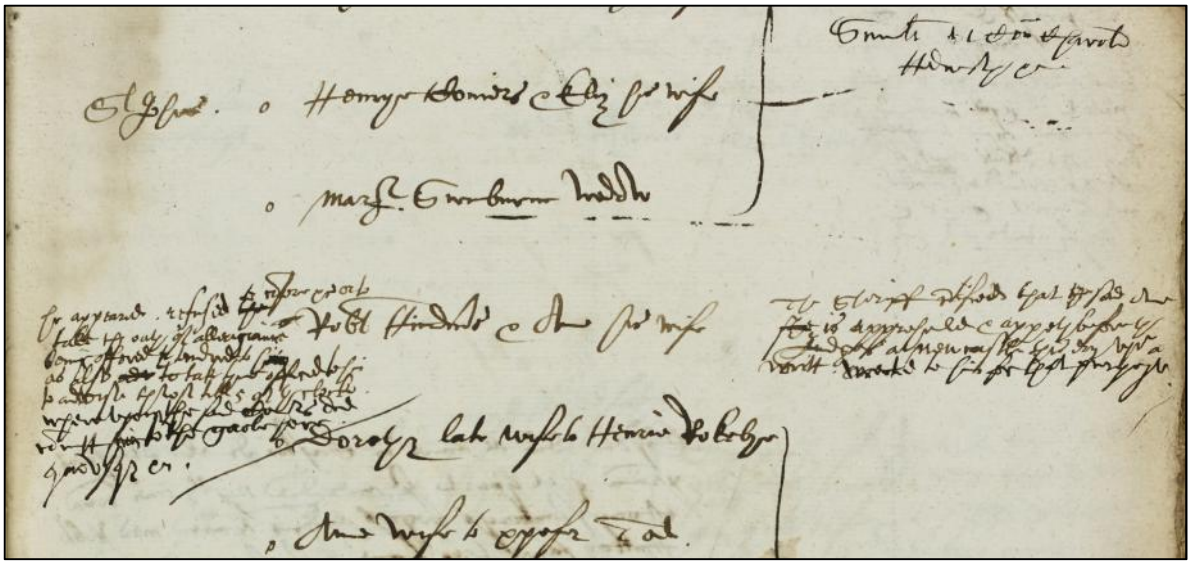

Fig. 1. Details on the incarceration of Robert and Anne Hindmers. DCL, DCD/D/SJB/7, fol. 28[r].

Robert and Anne Hindmers had been included in the Commission's recusant lists since May 1615; they were seized less than three months after the first warrant for their arrest had been written, which is unusually fast considering the generally poor rate of the sheriffs' success.

[77] DCL, DCD/D/SJB/7, fol. 27[v].
[78] Ibid., fol. 28[r].
[79] Ibid. Such conferences with nonconformists were common particularly in high commission cases, see Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, p. 173.
[80] DCL, DCD/D/SJB/7, fol. 28[r].

What happened afterwards remains a mystery. The Durham quarter session records are missing for a period between July 1615 and April 1616. It is very likely that sometime in autumn Hindmers appeared before the court again, swore the oath, and was subsequently released, because other sources, discussed further on, inform us that he was most probably set free.

Apart from accusing him of recusancy, Bishop James denounced Hindmers for using his art to creep into many houses and thus causing much harm. Why exactly did James imagine the dancer *creeping* into households and what could have been so *harmful* about his activities? Although the bishop was frustratingly parsimonious with regard to the exact nature of contentious household visits, the collocation of harmful dancing in post-Reformation England is hardly unexpected.

In the course of the Reformation, dance, as well as stage plays, bearbaiting, May games, church ales, rushbearings, and other traditional pastimes and festivities, came under increased scrutiny and were by the end of the sixteenth century a focal point of sabbatarianists' cultural criticism.[81] The Puritan moralists were not only attacking the habit of Sunday dancing, but also denounced dancing as intrinsically sinful and almost unacceptable at any time or in any form. Although authors such as Christopher Fetherston and, half a century later, William Prynne (1600–1669) tolerated dancing found in the Holy Scriptures (the single-sex, sombre, unaffected, and devotional sort), they deemed it fundamentally alien to the dancing practices of their own times.[82] To defend biblical dance, they historicized it and presented it as culturally obsolete. In contemporary society, spiritual joy found, they held, its principal expression in

[81] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 69–152; Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 354–81; for a detailed discussion of English sabbatarianism see Kenneth Parker, *The English Sabbath: A Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[82] See Christopher Fetherston, *A dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lasciuious dauncing: wherin are refuted all those reasons, which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof* (London: Dawson, 1582), sig. D2^{v}–D5^{v}; and William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix. The players scovrge, or, actors tragaedie, divided into two parts* (London, 1633), pp. 220–61.

'Psalmes, and Himnes, and spirituall Songes' rather than in dance, which was now solely driven by lust.[83] The Neoplatonic notions about dance which dominated the court and were famously articulated by John Davies (1569–1626), who believed dancing was 'both love and harmony, / Where all agree, and all in order move; […] the Art that all Arts doe approve', could not be further from the moralists' perspective.[84] In opposition to the court perspectives, Puritan clergymen described dancing as lewd, lascivious, heathen, and closely associated with practices of the old, superstitious faith.[85]

Soon after his succession in England, on 7 May 1603, James I, who shared some sabbatarian sentiments, forbade the staging of common plays, baiting of animals, and 'other like disordered or unlawful Exercises or Pastimes on the Sabbath day'.[86] What other recreations and festivities were to be considered unlawful and disorderly on Sundays was left for the local authorities to decide. In short, in spite of the piercing voice of evangelical Protestantism, the central government never formulated a coherent policy against popular entertainment. On the contrary, Sunday recreations soon had to be protected by royal decree. Reformers broadly agreed to 'prohibit dancing that either coincided with church services or took place in the sacred space of the church or churchyard'; however, up to the publication of James I's *Book of Sports* on 24 May 1618, the more fervent ministers could extend such orders to any part of the Lord's Day.[87] The acceptability of dancing generally depended on whether it occurred in suitable places, at suitable times, and in a reverent and seemly manner.

[83] Fetherston, *A dialogue against*, sig. D3^{r}.
[84] *Orchestra* 96.3–5 (in *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. by Robert Krueger (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), p. 115). Cf. Skiles Howard, 'Rival Discourses of Dancing in Early Modern England', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 36/1 (1996), 31–56 (pp. 43–50).
[85] See Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 357–58; Howard, 'Rival Discourses of Dancing', pp. 37–40; for the extensive analysis of traditional pastimes' association with Catholicism see Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, pp. 38–53.
[86] James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes (eds.), *Stuart Royal Proclamations, Vol. 1, Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), p. 14; cf. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 154.
[87] Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 367–68. For the latest comprehensive treatment of controversies surrounding the publication of *The Book of Sports*, see Alistair Dougall, *The Devil's Book: Charles I, the Book of Sports and Puritanism in tudor and Early Stuart England* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2011); for a concise analysies of the political context surrounding the publication, see Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 168–69.

Moreover, those involved in parish dancing were rarely presented before visitation commissions and subsequently tried at a consistory court if the local community had not already been burdened by the 'pre-existing tensions and disagreement about the acceptability of dancing in particular contexts, such as on Sundays, in the churchyard, or as part of traditional festivity'.[88]

Furthermore, in the eyes of reform-minded ministers and preachers, dancing and other pastimes had for decades not only hindered the establishing of a truly godly nation, but also represented means for Catholics to defy the ecclesiastical establishment and engage in unwelcome conviviality which reiterated their survivalist identity.[89] The association between traditional festivity and Catholicism was particularly strongly articulated from 1587 onwards by a number of Lancashire ministers. Their periodical fervent suppressions of Sunday recreations, and local resistance to their policies, stimulated the formation of King James I's *Book of Sports*, initially issued in August 1617 exclusively for Lancashire as a *Declaration Concerning Lawful Sports*.[90] Whilst acting as vicar of Eccles near Manchester, John White (1570–1615) published *The Way to the True Church* (1608), where he boldly claimed that 'Papists have bene the ringleaders in riotous companies, in drunken meetings, in seditious assemblies and practises, in profaning the Sabboth, in quarrels and brawls, in stage-plays, greens, ales, and all heathenish customs'.[91] William Harrison, a preacher of Huyton near Liverpool, blamed the slow progress in bringing people to abiding by the Gospels on 'popish priests' and 'profane Pypers,' who every Sunday drew hundreds of people away from the church onto the village greens to participate in 'lasciuious dancing'.[92] The greatest 'maintainers of this impiety,' he claimed, were 'our recusants and new communicants', who

[88] Winerock, 'Churchyard Capers', p. 237.
[89] Cf. Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, pp. 38–39.
[90] *REED: Lancashire*, ed. by David George (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. xxiv–vi; the Lancashire *Declaration* is published on pp. 229–31.
[91] Quoted in *REED: Lancashire*, p. 19.
[92] *The Difference of Hearers* (London, 1614), quoted in *REED: Lancashire*, pp. 27–28.

by such means 'keep the people from the Church, and so continue them in their popery and ignorance'.[93]

The cultural activity of the recusant and musically talented Blundell family of Little Crosby testifies that preachers' outbursts were not simply excessive fantasies of the godly. Recently, Emilie Murphy has aptly demonstrated that converted ballads, such as 'Jesu come thou to me', an adaptation of 'Daintie come thou to me', found in the Blundell family's *Great Hodge Podge*, circulated within the festive and vibrant Lancashire Catholic community as part of priests' missionary strategy.[94] Rushbearings and May games in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire would often have recusant overtones.[95] There is also evidence of similar contentious festivity and sociability of Catholics in Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham, including the setting up of a Christmas Lord, communal hunting, bowling, and horse-racing.[96]

Intriguingly, the association of festivity with Catholicism was also present in King James I's *Book of Sports* itself, yet this time its purpose was to curb and not advance the suppression of Sunday recreations. The king believed that the radical Puritan disregard for traditional pastimes was in fact hindering 'the conversion of many', who might, prompted by popish priests, think 'that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in Our Religion'.[97] However, *The Book of Sports* denied the benefit of Sunday recreations to

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[93] *REED: Lancashire*, p. 28.

[94] See Emilie K. M. Murphy, 'Music and Catholic culture in Post-Reformation Lancashire: Piety, Protest, and Conversion', *British Catholic History*, 32/4 (2015), 492–525; cf. Phebe Jensen, "'Honest Mirth and Merriment": Christmas and Catholicism in Early Modern England', in *Redrawing the Map of Early Modern English Catholicism*, ed. by Lowell Gallagher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 213–44.

[95] Elizabeth Baldwin, 'Rushbearings and Maygames in the Diocese of Chester before 1642' in *English Parish Drama*, ed. by Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 31–40; Siobhan Keenan, 'Recusant Involvement in a Robin Hood Play at Brandsby Church, Yorkshire, 1615', *Notes and Queries*, 45 (2000), 475–478.

[96] See *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, ed. by Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986), p. 218; TNA, SP 14/4, fols. 7^{r}–8^{v}; TNA, SP 14/17, fols. 32^{r}–33^{v}; TNA, SP 14/86, fols. 68^{r}–69^{v}; TNA, SP 14/86, fols. 196^{r}–197^{r}; PGL, DDR/A/ACN/1/1, fol. $88^{r–v}$; PGL, Add.MS. 866, fols. 2^{v}, 13^{v}–14^{r}, 22^{r}, 23^{r}, 24^{r}, 32^{v}, 33^{r}, 46^{r}, 57^{r}.

[97] *The King Majesties Declaration to His Subjects, Concerning lawful Sports to be used* (London, 1618), in *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, p. 366. The same argument was used decades earlier in George Gilbert's (d. 1583) 1583 instructions for Jesuit proselytizing; although priests were advised to abstain

convicted recusants and church absentees. In other words, one had to conform to take part in parish sociability. The management of mirth was clearly significant not only in preserving royal authority and promoting royal policies, but also in achieving religious conformity.[98] With *The Book of Sports* King James I reacted against both Puritans and Catholics; the latter had already appropriated festivity and used it for proselytizing.

Yet the language of Puritan sabbatarianism, linking Catholicism with disorderly, heathen, profaning, or even seditious festivity, is absent in Bishop James' letter, not least because the author's main concern was fervent recusancy, not festive traditionalism. Although the critique of dancing must surely be implicit in the private correspondence of two Puritan-leaning clergymen, it nevertheless remains unarticulated. Instead, William James uses the language of religious controversy, clearly identifying the dancer as a Catholic proselytizer. Robert Hindmers' dancing should therefore not be perceived as a mere disruptive pastime, but rather as an evangelizing strategy and a vehicle for more significant devotional and spiritual needs of a growing community. William Harrison's juxtaposition of 'popish priests' and 'profane pipers' may therefore nevertheless be crucial for our understanding of Bishop James' discourse and the role which Hindmers might have played among Catholics in the diocese of Durham.

The aforementioned report on recusancy in the bishopric, issued by William James in 1608, uses what should be by now familiar language:

> There is no doubt but amongst so many Papist*e*s in so remote a Countrey sondrie Semynaries are crept in & keepe resden*c*es, to the dalie w*i*thdrawing of the king*e*s

themselves from excessive banqueting, dancing, and gambling, they should not be 'over scrupulous and strict' in trifling matters, in order to prevent 'the heretic to think that the Catholic religion is an intolerable yoke and too austere' (L. Hicks (ed.), *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J., Vol. 1: to 1588*, Publications of the CRS, vol. 39 (London: Whitehead, 1942), p. 336).

[98] Cf. Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

> people, who though they be not verie obvious, yet vpon searches might no doubt be appr*e*hended.[99]

In the bishop's vocabulary, the verb 'to creep in' does not denote just any stealthy, cautious, scheming, and unobserved intrusion or advancement. It is particularly associated with the practices of popish priests who, in order to evade persecution, had to abandon their clerical dress and travel in disguise. The expression is, in fact, a commonplace in both anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant polemics and derives from Paul's second epistle to Timothy:

> For of this sort are they [hypocrites] which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts. (KJV 2 Tim 3, 6)

Protestant works such as John Baxter's *A toile for two-legged foxes* (1600), Samuel Harsnett's *A declaration of egregious popish impostures* (1603), and John Gee's *The foot out of the snare* (1624), which attacked and exposed alleged devious missionary practices of Catholic priests, thrive on identifying Jesuits and seminaries with sly false prophets, invaders of households, and undercover womanizers.[100]

In numerous Catholic households the spousal division of labour in upholding Catholicism was necessary: in order to avoid recusancy fines, maintain Catholic identity, and satisfy the dictates of conscience, husbands would outwardly conform and 'peepe into the Church once in a month', while their wives would abstain from attending the parish church entirely.[101] Although married women were convicted and fined for recusancy, their forfeitures

[99] LP, TMP, MS 663, fol. 50^{r}.
[100] Cf. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, pp. 53–65.
[101] Baxter, *A toile for two-legged foxes*, p. 108; on spousal agreements in Catholic households see Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), pp. 78–82.

could never be extorted while their husbands were alive, since legally they did not possess any goods or lands. Later Elizabethan and particularly Jacobean statutes tried to address the issue of non-conforming wives more vigorously by threatening their husbands, who were deemed bad patriarchs for not securing religious conformity in their households, with additional penalties and civil disadvantages.[102] In April 1613, such coercion was experienced by Thomas Chaytor, registrar of Durham consistory court. Disappointed by William James' tyrannical demands and afraid of prospective destitution, Chaytor wrote:

> This Moneth the L*ord* B*ishop* thretned to sequester my Registr*ar* office, because my wiff was a recusant, w*hi*ch was satis pro imperio [imperiously enough]. The Kinges Ma*ies*tie by his Lawes, taketh of Recusants them selfes 2 parts of there livinges, & yf the B*ishop* take all myn, beinge no Recusant, what maie be thought is better thought than written.[103]

The popular imaginary responded to women's substantial influence in Catholic households and their role in harboring priests. Because sharing a roof with secular women became a norm for priests in seventeenth-century England, anti-Catholic and particularly anti-Jesuit tracts were keen to point out that popish seduction was not only religious but sexual: priests were frequently accused of adultery, recusant women of whoredom.[104] Anti-Catholicism was paired with misogyny.

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[102] For concise discussion of Jacobean legal developments, see Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 70–71.

[103] PGL, Add.MS. 866, fol. 13$^{r–v}$.

[104] See Dolan, *Whores of Babylon*, pp. 85–94; Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, pp. 53–65; also Arthur F. Marotti, 'Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies', in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 1–34; an example of the imaginary manifesting itself in bureaucratic writings can be found on a Wisbech Castle prisoners' list from 1587, in which Francis Tillettson is described as an 'Amorous prieste making muche of Catholikes wyves & a greate p*er*suader of women' (TNA, SP 12/199, fols. 172^{r}–173^{v}).

In light of the subversive role of Catholic women, it does not come as a surprise that polemicists adopted 2 Tim 3,6 as a focal reference for describing the unsettling heterosocial relationships between popish priests and recusant women, while the phrase 'creeping in' or 'creeping into houses' became widely used with regard to secret intrusions of priests, sin, abuses, and superstitions either in private homes or Christian worship more generally. John Baxter thus claimed that Jesuits (or Foxes), 'by dissembled zeale & palpable flaterie creepe into mens houses, winde themselues into mens consciences, lead away the simple captiue'.[105] In the fervently anti-Jesuit epic *The Locvsts, or Apollyonists* (1627), Phineas Fletcher (1582–1650) laments that the 'little Isle' did not escape the scheming priests who

> […] with practicke slight
>
> Crept into houses great: their sugred tongue
>
> Made easy way into the lapsed brest
>
> Of weaker sexe, where lust had built her nest,
>
> There layd they Cuckoe eggs, and hatch't their brood unblest.[106]

Having been present at the 1623 accident in Blackfriars, where ninety-five people were killed by the collapsing floors of the gatehouse during a celebration of Catholic vespers, John Gee, a minister with previous Catholic inclinations, subsequently turned distinctly anti-Catholic. In the wake of the accident, Gee was prompted by Archbishop Abbot to write a penitential tract exposing the proselytizing strategies of popish priests. In the introduction of *The Foot out of the Snare* he wittily ascertained that 'our Countrey, which ought to bee euen and vniforme, is

[105] Baxter, *A toile for two-legged foxes*, p. 27.
[106] Phineas Fletcher, *Locvstae vel Pietas Iesvitica* (Cambridge: Bucke, 1627), p. 56; cf. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, p. 63, who does not identify or expand on the relevance of biblical allusion.

now made like a piece of Arras, full of strange formes and colours'.[107] The blame for religious divisions lies with lukewarm ministers and, more importantly, the emissaries of Rome, who

> make them, whom they can get to work vpon by their perswasions, to become retrograde […] and become Apostates in matters of orthodox Christianity. Easily can they steale away *the hearts of the weaker sort:* and secretly do they creep into houses, *leading captiue simple women loaden with sinnes, and led away with diuerse lusts.*[108]

Gee's patron and addressee of William James' letter, George Abbot, had himself engaged in anti-Catholic discourse in the *Reasons which octor Hill hath brought for the upholding of papistry* (1604), as well as in a voluminous collection of thirty sermons, *An exposition upon the prophet Jonah* (1600). In the closure of the twenty-ninth sermon, Abbot explained that although there was no apology for sin, the fact that the weakness of sinners was often transformed into strength by God's grace could also be used as a just defense against

> Seminarie priests of Rome, who take occasion by reason of some slippes in our Cleargie, & defects in our ministerie […] to vnder-mine any good opinion of our religion in the simple: But this is practised most of all to the ignorant, and to silly women, into whose houses they creepe, and leade them captiue being laden with sinnes, and led with diuerse lustes.[109]

[107] John Gee, *The foot out of the snare: with a detection of svndry late practices and impostures of the priests and Iesuits in England* (London: Lownes, 1624), p. 2.
[108] Ibid., pp. 2–3.
[109] George Abbot, *An Exposition upon the prophet Jonah* (London: Field, 1600) pp. 614–15.

The semantic field of Catholic 'creeping' can be further extended by discussing a pious observance which might have informed and reiterated the Protestant pejorative use of the verb in anti-Catholic tracts.

Early in 1548 the government of Lord Protector Somerset (c. 1500–52) forbade a number of old Church ceremonies, such as the blessing of candles at Candlemas, ashes upon Ash Wednesday, foliage on Palm Sunday, and creeping to the cross, a Good Friday custom of venerating the crucifix.[110] How pervasive and elaborate the practice of creeping to the cross might have been in pre-Reformation England can be observed in the *Rites of Durham*, a work of Catholic nostalgia from the end of the sixteenth century, describing ceremonies in and around Durham Cathedral before the dissolution of the monasteries.[111] It is easy to see why the Reformers abhorred such extravagant expression of faith, and also how creeping priests could have been reintroducing the practice in Catholic households. The ceremony was certainly observed in Dorothy Lawson's house, where both Easter and Christmas were celebrated lavishly. In Holy Week, Dorothy performed in her chapel 'all the ceremonies appropriated to that blessed time'. including creeping to the cross, 'which kissing shee bath'd with tears'.[112]

Returning back to the bishop's letter, we can now decisively conclude that James' language consciously compares Hindmers and his itineracy with that of an undercover seminary priest. He not only describes Robert Hindmers as a dancer and a recusant but also as a popish seducer who, 'by his daunceing crept into manie houses' and with 'divers lusts', to use the words from the epistle to Timothy, led people away from religious conformity. In some ways, William James anticipated later Caroline anxieties about the proliferation of a

[110] Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, p. 80; cf. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 443–44, 457.
[111] See Joseph T. Fowler (ed.), *Rites of Durham*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 107 (Durham: Andrews, 1903), p. 11.
[112] Palmes, *Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson*, pp. 43–44. See also a report on private creeping to the cross in Golborne, Lancashire, at the home of Peter Croncke in 1604 (McClain, *Lest We be Damned*, p. 55).

new French fashion of dance and social decorum, often associated with emasculation, lewdness, Catholicism, and Jesuit influence.[113] In the 1608 recusancy report, the 'harm' of creeping was described as a 'daily withdrawing of the king's people,' that is the shifting of individuals into religious and political nonconformity. According to Baxter, whose verbosity on the issue can hardly be surpassed, the aim of the 'seminaries of falsehood' was

> to reconcile simple people to the obedience of the Pope, to powre into their harts pestilent opinions against her Maiestie, and the lawes of this Realme, to sound the secrets of inward intentions, to set discontented harts on fire with the flames of rebellion, to feede foolish humors with vaine hope of alteration.[114]

The damage of Hindmers' harmful dance intrusions must be measured in similar terms.

Yet evidence for Robert Hindmers' involvement in missionary activities goes beyond the language used by Bishop James to describe his practices. Christopher Newkirk's memorials, copies of which were regularly attached to James' correspondence with George Abbot, give sumptuous details of Hindmers' social milieu. On the evening of 7 August 1615 William Southerne, the Newcastle-based seminary priest, met with Newkirk at his house in Gateshead. The spy had recently returned from Durham and received the priest at 9 o'clock, offering him wine, pears, walnuts, and east country gingerbread, which sufficiently fuelled their conversation.[115] Intriguingly, the most pressing matters that evening were not the rumours of a foreign invasion, or logistics of the mission, but the dancer himself, imprisoned four days before the Gateshead meeting. Southerne was keen to learn about any further developments:

[113] In Richard Brome's comedy *The New Academy* (1635), Strigood, a dancing master, is represented as a Catholic, who allegedly learned how to behave as a dancer from a Jesuit (Howard, *Theater of a City*, p. 189).
[114] Baxter, *A toile for two-legged foxes*, pp. 16–17.
[115] See TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 94$^{r–v}$ for all the details of that particular evening.

> Then he asked me, if I had not heard of the prisoner, a dauncer (taken by the sheriffe and brought to Durham to take his oathe and confess the Supremacye of his Ma*ies*tie, w*hi*ch he denyed). I told him no. And further he said that the said dauncer had his maintenance from the Catholick*e*s.[116]

Southerne confirms our suspicions. Hindmers, he claimed, had been receiving money from Catholics; he had been, so to speak, dancing under Catholic patronage. Unfortunately, the priest remained silent about who exactly supported him, but it is fair to assume that the dancer's *viaticum* was administered to him through the hospitality of Catholic households and the funds raised by priests and the faithful.

This last speculation is substantiated on the subsequent page of Newkirk's report. Although the spy's narrative is emotionally detached and focused on factual details, it conveys Southerne's concern for Hindmers' fortunes. He must have known the dancer very well and evidently trusted him. He tells Newkirk that 'the dauncer now in prison, hath been a good member vnto vs, but he shall not want, for wee priest*e*s gather for him'.[117] Southerne acknowledges Hindmers' worth for the community and assures Newkirk that the dancer will not suffer deprivation in prison, but will be relieved by the funds collected on his behalf. Whether this collection is in some way related to the maintenance Hindmers had received before his imprisonment is unclear, but it is indeed probable.

Prompted by the unfortunate state of the dancer, Newkirk suddenly declares fear of similar imprisonment, to which Southerne offers a brisk and disparaging response:

[116] Ibid., fol. 94^{r}.
[117] Ibid., fol. 94^{v}.

> Then I saide, how shall I doe, I am like to incurre such daunger. ffye fye, neu*er* take such care said he, yow are none of them that convert others, & yow are a straunger & nothing to loose but yo*u*r goods, and if the ban*n*ishe yow, yow shall haue o*u*r l*ett*res of p*re*ferm*en*t. If yow be imprisoned, yow shalbe relieued.[118]

Although the priest assures the spy that he too will receive support from the community if the worst happens, Southerne nevertheless makes a clear distinction between Newkirk and Robert Hindmers, who seems to be, unlike the Polish surgeon, a man ready to 'convert others'. And yet caution should be used when reading this passage, for it does not provide unambiguous evidence that Hindmers had in fact converted anybody – not least because true conversion to Catholicism could only be obtained through a sacramental confession conducted by a priest.[119] However, what Newkirk's report undoubtedly proves is Hindmers' material dependence on the mission, which itself daily relied on lay hospitality, and his close association with Southerne, who could in fact reconcile individuals to the Roman communion.

2.3 Robert Hindmers, a Dancing Master

What more can we learn about Hindmers' life, dancing, and his role within the Catholic community? Following the bishop's assertion that he was a poor man's son, born in Durham, his family background can be traced in parish registers. Robert, son of Richard Hindmers, was baptized on 24 January 1585 at St. Mary-le-Bow, North Bailey, Durham.[120] His father had married Jane less than three months before, on 4 October 1584 at St. Nicholas Church.[121] Sometime before 1589, when the death of Richard's and Jane's infant son (due to plague) is

[118] Ibid.
[119] Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, pp. 174–75.
[120] DRO, M43/313.
[121] DRO, M42/325.

recorded, the family moved to or near Newcastle, to the parish of St. John the Baptist; perhaps in search of a better life in a city with a booming coal industry.[122] Tragedy soon struck the family again: on 11 April 1591 they had to bury Richard himself at St. John's. For a family of insufficient means the death of a father was not only an emotional but also an economic blow; all the more so, if we consider Bishop James' claim that Jane eventually went blind. Nothing else is known about Robert Hindmers' youth and only a little more can be guessed about the life of his mother after Richard's death.[123]

By May 1615, Robert and Anne's religious non-conformity and itinerant lifestyle had already been noticed by church officials, and on 23 May of the same year the first known warrant was issued for their arrest. The date of their marriage remains unknown. It is likely that the couple got married clandestinely, the Catholic rite perhaps conducted by William Southerne himself, who had returned to England in 1605, after his studies at the Jesuit College in Polish-Lithuanian Vilnius and the English colleges of Douai and Valladolid, to enter his mission in Northumberland.[124] Southerne was particularly credited for his apostolate among the Tyneside poor and he may as well have been responsible for their conversion.[125]

However little we know of Hindmers' life and his career, we can be certain that he was no amateur dancer, who would only occasionally engage in rustic hopping and skipping, perhaps to earn some extra wages. Although he must have been thoroughly familiar with popular country dances, whose derivatives were in vogue at court, his dance repertoire could

[122] At the time, Newcastle's population was growing due to the expanding coal trade. The relocation of the Hindmers family conforms with general migration patterns; see Andy Burn, 'Work Before Play: Occupations in Newcastle upon Tyne, 1600–1720', in *Economy and Culture in North East England, c. 1500–1800*, ed. by Adrian Green and Barbara Crosbie (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018), pp. 115–135.
[123] On 25 February 1615 'Jeane Hindmers, a poore woman', who was in c. 1600 recorded as a servant to William Stobbs of Elswick, was buried at St. John's, Newcastle (TWA, MF 271). She might have been Robert's mother, although in August 1615, Bishop James referred to the dancer's blind mother as if she had been still alive.
[124] Ann M. C. Forster, 'Ven. William Southerne: Another Tyneside Martyr', *Northern Catholic History* 26 (1987), 6–16 (pp. 7–10).
[125] Ibid., 13.

not have been limited to that tradition alone.[126] Since Robert Hindmers was a professional dance teacher employed by the aristocracy, who enjoyed jigs as much as stately measures and internationally current courtly dances, such as galliards and corantos, he had to keep track of the latest tastes and fashions in order to satisfy his clients.[127]

One of his patrons was Lord William Howard (1563–1640) of Naworth Castle near Brampton, Cumberland, located about fifty miles west of Newcastle. Lord Howard was avowedly Catholic and during his lifetime the most powerful and influential English border landowner.[128] Lord Howard and his conforming nephew Theophilus Howard de Walden (1584–1640) were, after 1614, when the latter received all the Earl of Dunbar's former possessions in Northumberland and North Durham and became a commissioner and a co-lord lieutenant of the English Middle Shires, the focal points of Catholic recusant patronage in the North East and the borderlands.[129] In short, Hindmers' patron was at the core of the Northern Catholic network which stretched all the way to the court.

Today, Carlisle archives hold the carefully arranged household account books of Lord William, stretching, with considerable gaps, from 1612 until his death in 1640. Rewards and extraordinary payments show that each year a substantial amount of money was spent at Naworth on various entertainers. Musicians, mostly pipers, trumpeters, and waits providing dance music, were common visitors throughout the year and particularly at Christmastide.[130] Sporadically, travelling players performed for the Howards. Prince

[126] On the appropriation of country dances by the upper classes, see Keith Whitlock, 'John Playford's the English Dancing Master 1650/51 as Cultural Politics', *Folk Music Journal* 7/5 (1999), 548–78; Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*, pp. 41–45; Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 383–87; Kiek, "'We'll Have a Crash Here in the Yard"'.

[127] For a succinct discussion of various dancing traditions and gradual change from Italian to French dancing style at the early Stuart court, see De Montagut, *Louange de la Danse*, pp. 30–42; Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque*, pp. 27–45.

[128] On Lord William's life as a politician and a man of letters see Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books*, pp. i–lxxiii; H. S. Reinmuth, 'Lord William Howard (1563–1640) and his Catholic Associations', *Recusant History*, 12 (1973–4), 226–34; and Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563–1640): Antiquary, Book Collector, and Owner of the Scottish Devotional Manuscript British Library, Arundel 285', *Textual Cultures*, 7/1 (2012), 158–175.

[129] Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 182–84.

[130] *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, pp. 135, 137–38, 142–43.

Charles' players visited Naworth at least twice, in August 1617 and February 1621, both times receiving ten shillings, while other, anonymous companies, employed at various times in the year and at different locations, normally received a reward of five shillings only.[131]

The Howards were keen dancers as well. Accounts of Lady Elizabeth Dacre (1564–1639), Lord William's wife, often include purchases of various necessities for their children and grandchildren, from luxurious clothing to toiletries and gambling money. On 1 August 1612 three pairs of 'red dancing pumpes for the children' were acquired for four shillings.[132] The flamboyant pumps were probably purchased for William and Elizabeth's youngest daughter Mary and/or their oldest grandsons, William, son of Sir Philip Howard, born in 1603, and Thomas, son of Sir Henry Bedingfield and Elizabeth Howard, born in 1606.[133]

Dancing education at Naworth was taken seriously. On 12 August 1613, the considerable amount of forty shillings was paid to one Robert 'for teaching the gentlemen to daunce'.[134] After a substantial gap of six years, which is due to missing accounts, we find another payment made on 23 July 1619 'to mr Heymore for teaching to dance in part'.[135] 'In part' must refer to partial payment. In autumn 1620, Lady Elizabeth visited Thornthwaite Hall, a family residence in Westmorland, where between 31 October and 10 November a similar reward of 20s was given 'to the dawncer'.[136] This could not have been a payment for a single performance because the sum is simply too large. We only need to compare it with a reward given to anonymous players from the same period, who as a group had received only half of the amount given to the dancer. The payment to the Thornthwaite dancer almost certainly

[131] Ibid., pp.136–44.
[132] Ibid., p. 135.
[133] Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books*, pp. 9–10n§*.
[134] *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, p. 136.
[135] Ibid., p. 138.
[136] Ibid.

represents the second part of the reward due to Mr Heymore in 1619, and must have been issued in exchange for dancing lessons.[137]

The last dancing-related entry in Lord William's household books is the most fascinating of the set. It sheds new light on all previous dance-related expenses. On 22 August 1634 a payment of 40s was made to 'Mr Robert Hymers for one Moneth Teachinge Mr William Howard and Mrs Elizabeth his Sister to daunce'.[138] It is worth pointing out that Douglas' REED transcription errs in rendering Robert's last name as 'Hymes' instead of 'Hymers', although the same surname could at the time be spelled either way.[139] The scribe's final 'es' is normally very clear; the letters are compactly connected with either horizontal or slightly descending strokes.[140] In the case of Robert's last name, where the double-stemmed 'r' is squeezed between 'e' and 's', giving an appearance of an ink stain, this is clearly not the case.

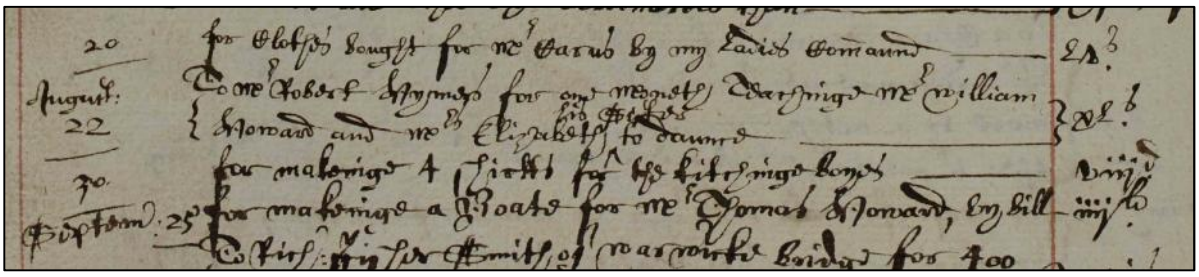

Fig. 2. A record of payment to Robert Hymers for dancing lessons. CA, DHN/C/706/12, fol. 74[v].

We can therefore conclude that Mr. Robert Hymers, found in Lord William Howard's household books under a variety of spellings, is most probably Robert Hindmers, the recusant dancer, imprisoned by Bishop James in August 1615.[141] Bearing in mind the considerable

[137] Perhaps Lord William's youngest daughter Mary, who sometime in December 1620 bought a new pair of expensive dancing pumps, was taking extra lessons that autumn at Thornthwaite (Ibid).
[138] CA, DHN/C/706/12, fol. 74[v].
[139] Cf. *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, p. 144; and Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books*, p. 344, whose transcription is correct.
[140] See the words 'Clothes' and 'Ladies' in the previous line or 'boyes' in the next entry (fig. 2).
[141] In parish and probate records of the period, the spelling of the surname Hindmers is particularly inconsistent and appears in many variants: Hindmarsh, Hyndmarsh, Hynmers, Hymners, Hymers, Hinmers, Hindners, Hemers etc. The identity of 'Mr Heymore' may seem more problematic, yet Heymore is again merely a spelling

lapse of time between the first and the last payment for dance instruction at Naworth and the fact that in the early modern period musical and dancing professions were often transmitted within one family from one generation to the next, we need to recognize that the accounts from the 1610s and 1630s could be referring to two different dancing masters bearing the same name. However, apart from Robert Hindmers' ripe age as a dancer in 1634 – he would have been in his sixtieth year – no other clue suggests that an identification of Mr. Hymers as a son or a nephew of the imprisoned dancer might be more plausible.

If all payments to dancing masters in Lord Howard's account books refer to dance instruction conducted by a single individual, then Robert, who started off teaching young gentlemen to dance in 1613, reappears in the 1630s as an established family dancing master. For over two decades, Hindmers would have been visiting Naworth regularly, providing dance education to at least two generations of Howards. If Robert's father, Richard Hindmers, was indeed a poor laborer, as Bishop James suggests, then his wage in 1590 would have been around six pence, which would probably amount to around five pounds of yearly income, although such estimates of annual earnings are notoriously uncertain.[142] In contrast to his father, Robert earned two pounds for only one month of dance lessons at Naworth Castle. Although such high earnings were probably irregular, it is hard to imagine Hindmers leading a financially precarious life. Furthermore, although he would have earned substantially less than some court-based dancing masters, whose annual income could amount to a minimum of 150 pounds, his monthly rate was the same as those of other dancing masters to the aristocracy in the south, such as William Jarman, a dancing master to Algernon Percy, the future 10th Earl of Northumberland.[143]

variant of a more common form Hymers, since the original meaning of the suffix 'moor' was identical to 'marsh/merse' (see *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'moor,' 'marsh' and 'merse').

[142] See Donald Woodward, *Men at Work: Labourers and Building Craftsmen in the Towns of Northern England, 1450–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 131–35, 271.

[143] De Montagut, *Lounage de la danse*, pp. 19–22; Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (London, 1877–78), p. 229.

Given Hindmers' social background, his connection with the Howards is even more intriguing: how did a labourer's son become a dancing master to the aristocracy, and more importantly, where did he learn the art in the first place? At present, no satisfying answers can be given. Dancing masters were proficient in a number of skills tangential and auxiliary to their fundamental expertise in teaching fashionable dance. Apart from possessing substantial musical knowledge – they were versed instrumentalists, often using a kit (a portable miniature violin), which enabled them to provide music during the lessons – dancing masters were also choreographers of entertainments, and mediators of civility and bodily deportment.[144] According to John Playford, the publisher of the first printed dancing manual in English, *The English Dancing Master*, a serious study of the art of dancing makes the body 'active and strong, gracefull in deportment, and a quality very much beseeming a Gentleman'.[145] Robert Hindmers would have possessed these gentlemanly qualities, which were deemed essential for appropriate conduct in polite circles, and he would have duly imparted them to his often socially superior students.

Until now, the earliest unequivocal evidence of a dancing master residing in Newcastle-upon-Tyne dates to the late seventeenth century.[146] Many occupational musicians, fiddlers, and pipers can be identified in early seventeenth-century Newcastle, and although their main profession was teaching and performing music, some of them could have occasionally offered dancing lessons as well.[147] It is possible that Hindmers himself had emerged as a dancing master from the musical milieu, especially if dance instruction was not his only occupation, in order to capitalize on the proliferation of courtly fashions and the growing North-Eastern market for a more sophisticated dance culture. The wealthy and

[144] Cf. Howard, *Theater of a City*, pp. 162–208, for the role of dancing in shaping London town culture in 1620s and 1630s.
[145] John Playford, *The English dancing master* (London: Harper, 1651), p. 2.
[146] Dancer Jacob Watson was a resident of All Saints parish; two of his children were buried in 1695 and 1698 (see TWA, MF 250); cf. Marsh, *Music and Society*, p. 331.
[147] See in particular the All Saints parish registers (TWA, MF 250); cf. Marsh, *Music and Society*, p. 136.

socially aspiring Tyneside coal-merchant elite was not lagging behind their London peers; it would probably have constituted the core of Hindmers' customers.

Moreover, dancing was not only central to the emerging town civility and sumptuous festivities at court, but also to the rural sociability in the country, where, according to Nicholas Breton, 'dancing on the greene, in the market house, or about the May-poole' was essential on holy days.[148] Robert Hindmers and his wife Anne would have engaged socially and professionally both with the polite society and the rustic milieu of mirth, which earlier in their lives would have allowed them to practice their first dance steps and develop an appreciation for the art. The Hindmers were bridging and crossing social divides and boundaries and were not too unlike the brothers George and Robert Cally, musicians and dancing masters of Chester, who, according to Christopher Marsh, acted as 'cultural conduits', traversing society and transporting 'tunes, terms and choreographies from one place to another'.[149] The Callys, who had first appeared in late sixteenth-century records as relatively humble Chester musicians, had by the early seventeenth century become servants to the nobility. George was a well-respected Chester freeman, an established musician, dance teacher, and a servant to the Earl of Derby.[150] His brother was equally successful, but wore a livery of a less illustrious patron, Sir John Savage.[151] Although Robert and George Cally were mixing with the gentry and nobility, they still taught, and performed for, whoever was willing to pay for their services. In 1613, Robert was even prepared to teach a new dance to a truant Chester apprentice at 4 o'clock in the morning.[152]

[148] Nicholas Breton, *The court and country, or a briefe discourse dialogue-wise set downe betweene a courtier and a country-man* (London, 1618), sig. B2^{v}.
[149] Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 387–88.
[150] Ibid.; Elizabeth Baldwin and David Mills, *Paying the Piper: Music in Pre-1642 Cheshire* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2002), pp. 67–70; *REED: Cheshire including Chester*, ed. by Elizabeth Baldwin, Lawrence M. Clopper, and David Mills (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 1:lxii–iv, lxxix–xx, 391, 408.
[151] Baldwin and Mills, *Paying the Piper*, p. 67.
[152] Ibid., p. 70.

Although we should not expect Robert Hindmer's mastery of dance to be on a par with the virtuosity of dancers active at court, such as Barthélemy de Montagut, an author of a (plagiarized) dance treatise and a dancing master of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), his skills were nevertheless considered exquisite enough to secure him employment in the noble household.[153] Sometime between c. 1600 and 1613, Robert must have refined both his manners and dancing abilities, which could hardly have been picked up on Sunday evenings in a local alehouse. A background in professional music would have been a good starting-point for acquiring dance skills. He might have been associated with one of the travelling theatre companies which regularly performed in the Newcastle's Merchant Court during the 1590s and the early 1600s, or a more modest regional playing company, such as the Simpsons of Egton. As an actor-apprentice, Hindmers would have learned how to comport himself like a gentleman, how to fight, and how to dance on stage. Since Newcastle was an important port town, we cannot exclude foreign influence or even his travelling abroad. In a more local context, however, as a resourceful, ambitious man, Robert could have become a servant in a gentry household, where he might have been given a chance to develop his talents. Whatever the case may be, by the 1610s Robert Hindmers was a fully developed dancing master generously supported by Catholic patrons.

2.4 Dance and the Catholic Community

The early-seventeenth-century traces of dancing practices in the North East are scarce, and even more so among the Catholics. Yet the evidence of social occasions which might have included dancing are not difficult to identify. Trade companies and civic corporations of Durham and Newcastle regularly hired musicians for their annual feasts and holiday

[153] For Montagut's career see Ravelhofer's introduction in De Montagut, *Lounage de la danse*, pp. 9–24.

recreations, which undoubtedly included dancing.[154] The 1603 order of the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers, which aimed to curb any unseemly sociability of their apprentices, names dancing, along with dicing, carding, mumming, and taste in expensive clothes, as one of the vices the youths were forbidden to indulge in when roaming the city.[155] There is also some evidence of professional instruction aside from the work of Robert Hindmers. In Durham City, Thomas Edlin was teaching dancing before he died in May 1620; he was either an itinerant teacher or a recent immigrant, for he is described as 'a strainger.'[156]

Ecclesiastical records can give us further insight into the social life of the North-Eastern parishes. In 1607, Toby Matthew, who had vacated the see of Durham in benefit of William James and assumed the archbishopric of York, produced a set of influential visitation articles for the whole province. In these, he asked ministers and churchwardens to inquire whether in their parishes and chapelries there were any 'rush bearings, bull-baytings, may-games, morice-dances, ailes, or any such like prophane pastimes or assemblies on the sabboth to the hinderance of prayers, sermons, or other godly excercises.'[157] Extant visitation books for the diocese of Durham rarely mention illegal dancing. Instead, they refer to a number of controversial social occasions on which dancing was commonly practised or encouraged.[158]

In November 1615, William Harrison, his wife Isabella, and John Gowling were presented before archdeacon William Morton (c. 1560–1620) at Barnard Castle – the latter for piping and 'those two dauncing vpon the saboth.'[159] No information is given of either exact time or place of their dancing. Other cases heard before the Puritan John Pilkington and

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[154] See *REED: Newcastle*, ed. by J. J. Anderson (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1982), pp. xvi–vii; in addition to paying the quarterly wages to the city waits, Newcastle paid for three itinerant musical companies in 1599: King of Scot's (James VI's), Earl of Cumberland's, and Lord Willoughby's musicians (pp. 126–32).
[155] *REED: Newcastle*, p. 139.
[156] Robert Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*. 4 vols. (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1972), p. 4:42.
[157] Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), p. 1:59; Marsh, *Music and Society*, p. 367.
[158] We know this from other sources, for example, *REED: Lancashire*, pp. 4–93, 213–28; *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, pp. 329–43.
[159] PGL, DDR/A/ACD/1/1, fol. 289^{r}.

William Morton convey a picture of pervasive communal recreations and thriving festive culture. At Winston, a village near Darlington, John Stanton and Robert Hewetson were presented in 1603 for 'maikinge a drinkinge on the Sabbaoth daie' and 'makinge a may game on the Sabbaoth daie' respectively; undoubtedly they were both involved in organizing the same event.[160] We find more contested may-gaming two years later at Bishop Middleham, where Randal Watter and five others were suspected of bringing 'a may pole into the towne vpon assention day last'.[161] May game celebrations often included morris dancing, but setting up and dancing around the maypole would have been even more common.[162]

A strong resistance to John Pilkington's sabbatarianist tendencies can even be detected at the heart of his archdeaconry, at St. Nicholas in Durham. On 7 July 1603, the churchwardens of the parish were reprimanded for

> not searchinge who ar absent from the Churche & diuine s*er*vice on the Sabbaoth daies & festivall daies, for it is credуly reported that drinking banquetting & playing at card*e*s, and other vnlawfull gaimes are vsed in their p*ar*ishe in s*er*vice time in aile houses & they never make search nor p*re*sentment therof.[163]

It was precisely due to such leniency of churchwardens that more unlawful dancing was not presented in the parishes of the city of Durham. Disorderly Sunday gatherings in alehouses and private homes which involved drinking and gaming are otherwise often reported throughout the county.[164] Occasionally, such conviviality is more distinctly paired with charges of non-communicantcy or even recusancy. In Benton, just outside of Newcastle,

[160] Ibid., fol. 147^{v}.
[161] Ibid., fol. 176^{v}.
[162] Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 335–36. Cf. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 28–34.
[163] PGL, DDR/A/ACD/1/1, fol. 144^{v}.
[164] See, for example, PGL, DDR/A/ACD/1/1, fols. 40^{r}, 48^{v}.

Christopher Dawson entertained 'a companie of fidlers playing at cards in his house on the first sondaie after the Epiphanie last [in 1620] all the tyme of dyvine service and administrati*on* of the holy Co*mmun*ion'.[165] The fiddlers, John Hobkirk of Newcastle and John and William Hatherwick, had abstained from fiddling during the service, which they failed to attend, and amused themselves with cards before probably assuming the revels again after the divine service. Agnes Walker, a Berwick recusant, entertained a 'Companie drinking in her house on sundaie vij^{o} Junij 1620' and kept her front door closed 'ag*ains*t the Churchw*arden* that daie, and let the Companie goe forth at the back dore'.[166]

Although dancing is never specifically mentioned in such cases, the alehouse keepers at least, such as Robert Burden and Anthony Learman from Bishopwearmouth (now part of Sunderland), who hosted 'drinkers in ther houses in tyme of prayers', had a vested interest in attracting and entertaining their guests by providing dance music.[167] They might have employed someone like John Wilson from South Shields, who was presented to the Cathedral authorities in February 1612 'that being the Piper & the wait, there [the alehouse] pipeth eu*er*ie sabboth daie & hollidaie at Alehouse in the forenoone'.[168]

It is difficult to ascertain whether there were ulterior motives behind any such instance of disorderly drinking, gaming, and dancing in private homes, such as luring Catholic sympathizers away from church-going. The post-Reformation attack on traditional culture had stimulated some Catholics to preserve and treasure those ceremonies and recreations which in the eyes of the radical Protestants defined them as a coherent and oppositional religious group, but we should be careful not to associate just any unruly festivity with Catholicism.[169]

[165] PGL, DDR/A/ACN/1/1 1619–1624, fol. 61^{r}.
[166] PGL, DDR/A/ACN/1/2 1619–1622, fol. 31^{v}.
[167] PGL, DDR/A/ACD/1/1, fol. 214^{r}.
[168] DCL, DCD/D/SJC/3, fol. 59^{r}.
[169] Cf. Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, pp. 38–53. Emily Winerock uses a convenient term 'festive traditionalists' to describe all those who actively resisted suppression of traditional festivity regardless of their religious provenance ('Churchyard Capers', p. 235).

However, the Hindmers' case informs us that the crowd of Durham Sabbath profaners must have included recusants, some of whom, like Anne Hewes from Cheshire, might have been both 'seduceing papist[s]' and 'daunceinge vpon ye Saboth daie'.[170]

After the Reformation, the expulsion of the old faith from the places of worship went hand in hand with purging the church of idolatrous practices, including theatrical performance and festive recreations, which were previously linked with parish piety and economies of salvation.[171] If public entertainment of a medieval parish was mainly conducted under ecclesiastical patronage, frequently occupying the consecrated space of the parish church, it now became more restricted to private patronage and secular spaces, such as alehouses, village greens, and households.[172] In the context of post-Reformation Catholic community, the greater importance of private patronage of local entertainers by the gentry was not simply a way of reaffirming social and hierarchical ties between tenants and landlords, as it had always been, but might also have been an expression of cultural nostalgia and shared religious identity.[173]

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[170] *REED: Cheshire Including Chester*, p. 2:518.

[171] Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 1–69; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 11–52, 338–76. Although parish plays would still be occasionally performed in churches, their acceptability was no longer self-evident, but instead rested on local tensions and attitudes towards festivity and festive drama. For northern examples see the controversial performance of a Christmastide play in Kirby Sigston parish church, North Riding, in 1599 (DCL, DCD/D/SJC/2, fol. 77^{v}), and the New-Year's-Day play in Skipsea parish church, East Riding of Yorkshire, in 1615 (BIA, York Diocesan Archive, Archiepiscopal visitation book, GB 193 V. 1615 (MF 1831), fol. 235^{r}). For a detailed discussion of controversies surrounding the use of sacred spaces for theatrical performances, see Paul Whitfield White**,** *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage, and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)**;** Jeanne H. McCarthy, '"The Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage": Chapel Stagings and Tudor "Secular" Drama', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 21 (2008), 56–86.

[172] For relocation of post-Reformation morris dance performances see Forrest, *The History of Morris Dancing*, 28–53. For private patronage of native provincial theatre see, for example, the household records of the Catholic Walmesley family from Dunkenhalgh, Lancashire (*REED: Lancashire*, pp. 192–211); cf. Peter Greenfield, 'Festive Drama at Christmas in Aristocratic Households', in *Festive Drama*, ed. by Meg Twycross (Cambridge, MA: Brewer, 1996), pp. 34–40; Jensen, *Religion and Revelry*, pp. 53–63; John M. Wasson, 'A Parish Play in the West Riding of Yorkshire', in *English Parish Drama*, ed. by Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 149–57; *REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, pp. 188–98. In Methley, the Shann and Burton families played a crucial part, providing most of the actors, while in Kendal, Ducket and Bellingham families were instrumental in securing the permission of local authorities and supplying the costumes. For the devotional role of Corpus Christi plays and other forms of drama in late medieval England see, for example, Pamela M. King, *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006); and Paul Whitfield White, *Drama and Religion in English Provincial Society, 1485–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[173] White, *Drama and Religion*, pp. 131–46; Jensen, 'Recusancy, Festivity and Community', pp. 112–14. For details on traditional hospitality in the great households see Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 23–90.

Coupled with religious dissent, festive entertainment and paternalistic holiday hospitality could have proven dangerous for the establishment, as the case of Sir John Yorke's patronage of the Simpsons' seditious performance at Gowthwaite Hall in 1610 abundantly testifies. Therefore, Catholic households transformed into religious and politically charged spaces of public interest not only because of displaced Catholic worship, but also because of a conscious Catholic appropriation of traditional largesse and entertainment, in particular, Christmas celebrations, in order to cultivate their separate religious identity and customary social relations.[174]

We lack evidence to unequivocally determine if and how precisely dancing would have been used in the North East as an expression of Catholic identity or piety, or as an expedient for evangelization. The mission clearly relied on Robert Hindmers' unique skills to access and integrate certain communities throughout the diocese, but not enough details survive for us to elaborate on which groups exactly were targeted by his proselytizing efforts, what activities took place apart from presumed dance instruction, and how they were conducted. However, leaving evangelization aside, it is not hard to imagine how private dancing could bring like-minded people together not only to engage in light sociability, but also to share information, pray, and worship. Ultimately, only the raw contours of Hindmers' activities are known to us, which otherwise remain obscure.

And yet, combining Catholic evangelization with worldly recreations was not an unprecedented practice. Jesuits did not understand proselytizing as a primarily polemical exercise and indeed used a variety of approaches to successfully persuade heretics, schismatics, or lukewarm Catholics.[175] John Gerard (1564–1637) took advantage of Sir Everard Digby's love for hunting and converted Sir Oliver Manners over a game of cards;

[174] Cf. Dolan, 'Gender and the "Lost" Spaces'; Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, pp. 110–21; Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 168–74; Jensen, "'Honest Mirth and Merriment"'.
[175] Hicks, *Letters and Memorials*, pp. 321–41; cf. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, pp. 178–86.

he clearly approached the spirit through the flesh.[176] Dance, so prevalent in English early modern culture and already widely associated with Catholicism, both in the country as well as at the court (particularly due to the Catholicism of the two Stuart dancing Queens), could hardly have been an inappropriate method to access festive-traditionalist elements of society who sympathized with the old faith. Dance could therefore potentially grease the wheels of conversion and most certainly strengthen the social bonds within the existing Catholic community.

The Hindmers–Southerne nexus helps us to recognize the role of dance in Catholic evangelization; it encourages us to question harsh bipolar divisions between seminarism and survivalism, seigneurial and popular Catholicism.[177] At least in the diocese of Durham, the increase of recusancy, as we learn from Bishop James, was a direct consequence of an extraordinary number of evangelizing priests, including Southerne's mission among the poor, which perhaps in part relied on the Hindmers' itinerant dancing.[178] Although attitudes of Counter-Reformation Catholicism towards superstitious devotional practices and profane recreations were similar to Protestantism, it nevertheless, when necessary, harnessed festivity and popular rituals as instruments of confessionalization instead of bluntly suppressing them.[179] Even the Jesuit-friendly households, most strictly fashioned according to Tridentine values, did not completely oust holiday revelry from within their walls.

[176] Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, pp. 183; Philip Caraman (ed.), *John Gerard: the Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), pp. 206, 233–36.
[177] For responses to Christopher Haigh's argument (which stresses the continuity of English Catholicism and downplays the role of seminary priests), see Andrew R. Muldoon, 'Recusants, Church-Papists, and "Comfortable" Missionaries: Assessing the Post-Reformation English Catholic Community', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 86/2 (2000), 242–57 (pp. 253–56); and Alexandra Walsham, 'Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation', *Historical Research*, 78/201 (2005), 288–310 (pp. 294–95).
[178] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 92^{r}.
[179] Walsham, 'Translating Trent?', pp. 302–06; Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 111–12; Jensen, "'Honest Mirth and Merriment"'; for clerical attitudes towards popular culture in early modern Europe see Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 289–334; John Bossy, 'The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe', *Past & Present*, 47 (1970), 51–70.

Such a one was Dorothy Lawson's semi-monastic institution near Newcastle. It was publicly marked as a Catholic house of worship with the sacred name of Jesus (the Jesuit emblem) on the wall facing the Tyne waterside. It contained a chapel consecrated to the Mother of God; each of the other rooms in the house was dedicated to a particular saint in line with Robert Southwell's recommendations.[180] It was a Catholic recusant space *par excellence*.[181] In St. Anthony's on Christmas Eve, after confession, litanies began at eight in the evening, and lasted, extended by a sermon, until midnight, when three Masses were celebrated consecutively. Afterwards, the attendants broke their fast with a Christmas pie and then departed to their respective homes.[182] Dorothy Lawson did not only feast her neighbors and tenants spiritually, but also corporally, unbinding 'in this time of mirth and joy for his birth who is the sole origin and spring of true comfort' her ascetic stiffness. She allowed herself playing cards on Christmas day 'two hours after each meal' and spending a shilling 'among her friends to make them merry'.[183] Furthermore,

> [s]hee had in a room near the chappell, a crib with musick to honour that joyfull mystery, and all Christmass musicians in her hall and dining chamber to recreate her friends and servants. Shee lov'd to see them dance, and said that if shee were present, greater care would be taken of modesty in their songs and dances.[184]

The Jesuit William Palmes constructs the life of Mrs Lawson in accordance with post-Tridentine ideals of piety and Christian living. Revelry, which the matriarch observes with a

[180] Palmes, *Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson*, pp. 30–1; McClain, *Lest We be Damned*, pp. 57–9.
[181] For more on the construction and symbolism of recusant spaces in England, see Peter Davidson, 'Recusant Catholic Spaces in Early Modern England,' in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley, and Arthur F. Marotti (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), pp. 19–51.
[182] Palmes, *Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson*, p. 44.
[183] Ibid., pp. 44–5.
[184] Ibid., p. 45.

slight suspicion, does not at all assume a central role in the household holiday celebrations, but it is nevertheless vital, since, to use Southwell's words, 'tyred spirites for mirth must haue a time'.[185] Although similarly focused on spiritual life and religious self-fashioning, Margaret Hoby (1571–1633), wife of a Puritan justice of peace, Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby (1566–1640) of Hackness, North Yorkshire, spent her Christmas day in 1599 as any other day, entirely devoted to reading, prayer, and controlled self-examination.[186] Dancers would clearly not have been welcome among the proselytes of the godly people.

Dorothy Lawson's monastic retreat from worldly pleasures is thus balanced by acknowledging that on feast days bodily recreations and outward expressions of joy through music, gaming, and dancing were as important as penance and religious meditation. Even in St. Anthony's, whose first stone was laid by Richard Holtby (1552–1640), Jesuit Superior for the North of England, and where Jesuits were employed as resident chaplains, festive revelry was clearly indispensable at Christmas; it shared immediate spatial proximity with the richly adorned chapel and its sacred solemnities.[187]

We lack evidence to determine how precisely the Hindmers utilized dance in their proselytizing efforts. Bishop James certainly believed that Robert Hindmers' occupation enabled him to enter households and access particular communities. But it remains unclear whether dancing lessons were more than a convenient cover story for unrelated missionary activities.

Using worldly recreations to evangelize was not an unprecedented practice. Although the notion of "converted" dance forms, which might have mirrored the "converted" ballads discussed by Murphy, is compelling, we have no evidence to confirm their existence.

[185] Southwell, *Saint Peter's Complaint*, sig. A3^{r}.
[186] Joanna Moody (ed.), *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 47.
[187] Palmes, *Life of Mrs. Dorothy Lawson*, pp. 30, 32–3.

However, dance would not have to be necessarily made "Catholic" in order to serve the mission. In the early modern period, dancing was perceived to fulfil an important social function of bringing young men and women together. In fact, the "social mixer" dances, a special group of dances designed to achieve more unexpected intermingling of the participants, provided 'a structured form for flirtation, usually in a safe and supervised context'.[188] If dancing lessons were conducted by the Hindmers, they may have been utilized to facilitate such sociability among the local Catholic youth. Moreover, it is not hard to imagine how private dancing might have brought like-minded people together not only to socialize, but also to exchange news, pray, and worship.

Much like the Simpson players, who toured the North Yorkshire households in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Hindmers' dance events probably participated in communal affirmations of Catholic identity. However, such entertainment could quickly yield more subversive and far-reaching consequences. A telling rumour spread in the wake of the Simpsons' Christmas performance at Gowlthwaite Hall in 1609. Some of the 'Popishe people' present at the performance of the Saint Christopher play alleged to their neighbours 'that if they had seene the said Play […] they would neuer care for the newe lawe or for goinge to the Church more'.[189] Participating in communal entertainment could have a significant impact on an individual's religious identity.

Robert Hindmers used his talents to defy poverty and advance the Catholic cause. He received maintenance from local priests, but also managed to acquire more wealthy and powerful patrons, such as Lord William Howard of Naworth. Although Bishop James is quite

[188] Emily F. Winerock, '"Mixt" and Matched: Dance Games in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Europe', in *Playthings in Early Modernity: Party Games, Word Games, Mind Games*, ed. by Allison Levy (Kalamazoo: Westerm Michigan University, 2017), pp. 29–48 (p. 36); Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 331–32, 362–63.
[189] TNA, Deposition of Sir Stephen Procter, STAC 8/19/10, f. 18.

clear with regard to the nature of the harm which Robert and Anne caused, the evidence does not explicitly link dancing lessons with religious instruction. And yet, precisely because Robert Hindmers was a professional dancer, the importance of dance in his evangelizing activities should not be underestimated. Allowing a dancing master to assist the missionary priests without utilizing his unique skills would seem like a conspicuous waste of talent.

Moreover, the life of Robert Hindmers is a vivid reminder of early-seventeenth-century social mobility and the interconnectedness of high and low cultures. As a dance teacher and a performer, Hindmers crossed and moved between various spatial, social, and cultural contexts, participating in an enriching exchange of ideas and practices, which an occupation perhaps more suitable for ‘a poore mans sonne’ could never have offered.

3 Entertaining the King in Newcastle-upon-Tyne

In the following chapters, I will examine in detail the journey of King James VI and I to the North in 1617. His reception in Newcastle and the role of Catholic community therein form an important part of my argument. I will also dwell on one particular dramatic performance, Anthony Brewer's play *The Lovesick King* (publ. 1655), which King James had almost certainly seen during his visit to Newcastle. *The Lovesick King* can be fruitfully interpreted as a play articulating the Northern Catholics' political accommodation within the Stuart state. In stressing the confessional aspects of both the play-text and its performance context, my approach to the Newcastle performance of Brewer's play differs from previous inquiries, which overlook its religious significance.[190] *The Lovesick King* neither openly addresses confessional issues nor tactlessly advances a Catholic position; it suggestively celebrates James' reign by means of celebrating openness, unity, and social harmony, instead of conflict, isolationism, and fashioning of national identity through acts of exclusion. Such constructions of sovereignty and society would, of course, have been supported and approved by a wider, cross-confessional audience present in James' entourage. But considering the modality of *The Lovesick King*'s loyalism, its subtle anti-Calvinism, and specific performance context, the play's allegorical representation of Jacobean orthodoxy can be perceived as particularly coherent with the values of the marginalized pro-Stuart Catholics within the city and in the surrounding borderlands.

In the following chapter, I introduce the play and its critical history, discuss religious identity among the Newcastle elite, and provide a detailed historical context for the 1617 performance. I conclude by discussing Brewer's appropriation of Jacobean language and

[190] See mainly Madeleine H. Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside* and *The Love-Sick King*', *The Modern Language Review*, 19/2 (1924), 158–68; Randall Martin (ed.), *Edmond Ironside and Anthony Brewer's The Love-sick King* (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 171–217.

iconography of union, in particular its reliance on Neoplatonism and James' notions on kingship. The next chapter focuses on the analysis of the play's pervasive Herculean imagery. By unveiling the mythological grounding of the play and discussing its literary and iconographic sources, I further elaborate on the themes of choice and moral virtue, which I later connect with the play's Catholic background. In the final chapter, I discuss how *The Lovesick King* relates to Jacobean religious politics. I argue that the play was not only devised as a complex reiteration of trust and loyalty between the city and its sovereign, but also as a celebration of moderate Catholicism. The play's rhetoric was principally addressed to King James, encouraging him to follow his own political philosophy, embrace Catholic toleration, and unite all of his loyal subjects in peaceful coexistence, but also directed against the papalists, who rejected the divisive oath of allegiance.

3.1 The Lovesick King

Almost a century ago, Madeleine Hope Dodds put forward a well-founded conjecture that Anthony Brewer's play *The Lovesick King* (1655) had not only been originally written for a performance in Newcastle, but had also been performed during King James VI and I's visit to Newcastle in 1617.[191] Bentley believed Dodds' 'neatly constructed account of the play' to be 'very good', although at times too speculative.[192] Although the Newcastle origin of *The Lovesick King* and its performance in 1617 seemed quite possible to him, Bentley was not convinced by Dodds' arguments regarding the identity of Anthony Brewer, although her conclusion that *The Lovesick King* was an actor's play seemed 'well founded' to him.[193] More recently, Randall Martin has re-examined Dodds' conjectures; he is sufficiently convinced by

[191] See Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', pp. 158–68. Cf. M. Hope Dodds, 'The Northern Stage', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3/11 (1914), 31–64 (pp. 50–51).
[192] Gerald E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), p. 389; Gerald E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), p. 44.
[193] Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 3, pp. 44–45.

local performance conditions and internal textual evidence to favour the performance at Newcastle in 1617.[194] External evidence which would unequivocally confirm that *The Lovesick King* was indeed performed at Newcastle in April or early May 1617 is unlikely to appear in the future. The conclusions of my research, which provide new contextual details and further elucidations, strongly agree with Martin's findings. In short, the circumstantial evidence is so overwhelming that it is hardly possible to imagine *The Lovesick King* being performed anywhere else or at any other time.

Although its historiographical sources are diverse and freely adapted, *The Lovesick King* is one of only a handful of surviving Renaissance historical plays set in the Anglo-Saxon period.[195] Moreover, it is one of the earliest plays, if not the first, play staging the life of King Alfred (Alured) the Great, albeit in a substantially adapted form. That its main literary source is in fact William Barksted's narrative poem *Hiren or The faire Greeke* (1611), set during the Ottoman sack of Constantinople, and not, as Dodds suggested, a manuscript play called *Edmond Ironside*, speaks volumes about how the pre-Conquest context of *The Lovesick King* and its use of history in general was appropriated, modulated, and manipulated to articulate contemporary religious and political issues.[196]

The Lovesick King dramatizes the Danish invasion of England by the merciless King Canutus. Almost immediately, the English King Etheldred dies in battle, only to be succeeded by his brother Alured, who is forced to seek safety in disguise and wait for a more appropriate time to reclaim the English Crown. Complete annihilation of the English is, however, halted during a raid of Winchester Cathedral: there, Canutus, thanks to divine intervention, unexpectedly falls in love with a beautiful nun, Cartesmunda. Robbed of his warrior spirit,

[194] See Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 200–11.
[195] Leah Scragg, 'Saxons versus Danes: The Anonymous *Edmund Ironside*', in *Literary Appropriations of Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 93–106 (p. 95).
[196] Robert W. Dent, '*The Love-Sick King*: Turk Turned Dane, *The Modern Language Review*, 56/4 (1961), 555–57; Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', pp. 167–68.

Canutus is now thoroughly bent on conquering the nun, instead of subjugating England. 'England shall sleep in peace, for all my force / On Cartesmunda's love shall now be spent, / Thy Arms shall be my Arms, thy Bed my Tent', he triumphantly proclaims, having finally seduced the reluctant nun.[197] The amorous enchantment is broken only after Canutus accidently stabs his lover during a quarrel with Danish lords, who desperately want their emasculated king to abandon idle wantonness and act against the advancing Prince Alured.

The main historical plot is paired with a parallel comedic rags-to-riches tale of the late medieval Newcastle merchant and mayor, Roger Thornton, a north-eastern variety of Richard 'Dick' Whittington, the legendary London mayor.[198] The play, formally labelled as an 'English tragical history', is therefore a tragicomic conglomerate of genres, plots, characters, and time periods. The Danish invasions of the ninth and eleventh centuries are conflated with Thornton's late-fourteenth-century biography. Moreover, Jacobean unionist language and quotidian scenes from the north-eastern capital clearly allude in colourful detail to contemporary, early-seventeenth-century realities. The play offers a rich array of Newcastle characters, such as the merchant adventurer Goodgift, the coal merchant Randolph, and his simpleton servant, Grim the Collier. Grim, a character familiar from the late Elizabethan stage, was, following the example of Thomas Dekker's shoemakers, transformed by Brewer into an honest Newcastle working-class hero.[199]

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[197] *The Lovesick King*, II.iv.46–48. All the references to the play are from Randall Martin's edition.

[198] Richard Whittington himself appeared on London stage (*The History of Richard Whittington of his Low Birth, his Great fortune*, a play now lost) and in popular ballads (Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 177-78). The earliest surviving fictional narrative on Whittington's life is attributed to Thomas Heywood, *The famovs and remarkable history of Sir Richard Whitington three times Lord Major of London* (1656). Brewer must have been influenced by Whittington's legend and conceived Thornton as a Novocastrian character of equal importance.

[199] Grim had previously most prominently featured in *Grim the Collier of Croydon* (or *The Devil and His Dame*), first published in a collection of three plays *A choice ternary of English plays: Gratiae theatrales* (1662), but probably dating from around 1600 (see William M. Baillie (ed.), *A Choice Ternary of English Plays: Gratiae Theatrales* (1662) (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984), pp. 171–260). Baillie attributes the anonymous play to William Haughton (see William M. Baillie, 'The Date and Authorship of *Grim the Collier of Croydon*', *Modern Philology*, 76/2 (1978), 179–84). Brewer's substantial and accurate knowledge of the local history and conditions of the town have rightly led Martin to claim that if he was not 'actually a native of the town, he knew it personally' (*Edmond Ironside*, p. 177).

In 1907, the play's first editor (Swaen) described *The Lovesick King* as a work without any aesthetic value and interesting solely on account of its complex plot.[200] Although the main plot lacks poetic sophistication, its allegorical structure is meticulously crafted and must have been appreciated by the audience, particularly King James, whose ideals and achievements it intelligently praises. Moreover, the stagecraft of the humorous Newcastle scenes is surprisingly nuanced and effective even when confined to the page, for which Brewer has already received some tentative credit.[201] Far from being crude, the comedy in *The Lovesick King* is accessible and at times remarkably clever. Moreover, the play demonstrates substantial awareness of court entertainment and civic pageantry in contemporary London, which it employs to celebrate Newcastle's history and civic institutions.[202] *The Lovesick King* is one of its kind: a unique monument of the north-eastern theatre history, and an extraordinary articulation of Newcastle's identities and civic values.

Although the play was only published in 1655, the analysis of allusions to contemporary plays suggests it was written much earlier. In act III, Grim the collier cheekily responds to his master's encouragements by stressing that he hopes one day to earn enough money not only to become a gentleman, but 'to purchase a Lordship' and keep his colliers as 'Ladies' and 'maintain 'em with black Masks on their faces already'.[203] Grim may be referring to Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness*, performed at Whitehall on 6 January 1605, in which Queen Anne and her ladies appeared with blackened faces, and not simply to the black masks often worn by ladies in the early modern period to protect their complexion and conceal themselves in public.[204] The colliers' grimy faces alluding to the controversial blackened faces

[200] A. E. H. Swaen (ed.), *Anthony Brewer's The Love-Sick King* (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1907), p. xiv.
[201] Cf. Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', p. 168.
[202] Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 190–92.
[203] *The Lovesick King*, III.i.14–16. Cf. the Clown's mention of a 'Mask' or a 'Muming' in Thomas Heywood's and William Rowley's *Fortune by land and sea* (London: Sweeting, 1655), p. 47. Like *The Lovesick King*, *Fortune by land and sea* was published by John Sweeting in 1655.
[204] Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 323.

of the female masquers may well be one of the play's several compliments intended for King James' spouse. In Jonson's masque, Ethiopian ladies are promised the recovery of their pale beauty under the British sun.[205] Similar transformation is anticipated by Brewer, but not of the colliers' complexion, which never changes, for miners are confined to their proletarian underworld, condemned to 'starve and dye if they come above ground once'.[206] Instead, Brewer contrasts the refinement of the nymphs' beauty with a transformation of the 'Newcastle home-bred Minerals', 'black coals', which are through mining, trade, and mercantile endeavour 'turn'd to white silver'.[207] In opposition to hazardous international trade conducted by the merchant Goodgift, 'England holds the circuit of [Randolf's] traffick'.[208] Although, in the early seventeenth century, Newcastle coal was exported across the Continent, most of it was transported by English ships along the east coast of England.[209] The alchemy of domestic coal trade in *The Lovesick King* echoes the transformation of Ethiopian masquers, which can only occur under James' temperate sun, who 'refines / All things on which his radiance shines'.[210] The text of *The Masque of Blackness* was republished in 1616 in Jonson's First Folio and would have been widely available at the time when *The Lovesick King* was presumably written.

However, the play's *terminus post quem* can be moved further into the seventeenth century. In act II, Roger Thornton, at this point still a poor Northumberland pedlar, enters the stage with a song whose first two lines are identical to Merrythought's song in Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*: 'Be gone, be gone, my Juggy, my Puggy, / Be gone my Love, my Dear.'[211] Swaen has persuasively argued that due to its particular rewriting,

[205] More precisely, a vision instructs the masquers to find a mysterious land whose name ends in *–tania*, 'where bright Sol […] forms all beauty with his sight' (See *The Masque of Blackness*, 148–55).
[206] *The Lovesick King*, II.i.194.
[207] Ibid., II.i.64–66.
[208] Ibid., II.i.57.
[209] Hatcher, *The History*, vol. 1, pp. 486–500.
[210] *The Masque of Blackness*, 218–19.
[211] *The Lovesick King*, II.i.1–2; cf. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, III.522–26.

the song must have been adopted by Brewer from the Beaumont's play, which was first performed in 1607, and not from any other source, such as Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, which probably transmits the original version of the song.[212] And yet the date of *The Lovesick King* can be pushed still further into the seventeenth century, since its two chief primary sources, John Speed's *History of the Empire of Great Britaine* and William Barksted's epyllion *Hiren or The faire Greeke*, were published in 1611.[213]

The majority of allusions which scholars have so far identified in *The Lovesick King* are to plays from around 1600. This indicates that Brewer's play may be a rewriting of an older piece now lost, rather than a sign of cultural backwardness of the North East, as Dodds suggested.[214] George Peele's lost *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek* (c. 1594) would undoubtedly be one such play. Whatever the case may be, Martin has already substantially demonstrated that the play-text we possess is decidedly Jacobean. I intend to follow in his footsteps by discussing the play's indebtedness to love emblematics, which only began to thrive after 1600, court and civic entertainment, and above all the plays from the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, such as the immensely popular *Cupid's Revenge* (1608) and *The Mad Lover* (1616). The first quarto of *Cupid's Revenge* was published in 1615 as one of the last unpublished plays from the repertory of the Children of the Queen's Revels, and could therefore have been available to Brewer for consultation.[215] *The Mad Lover*, on the other hand, was a recent play, probably written in 1616 and performed at court at least once, on 5 January 1617.[216]

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[212] A. E. H. Swaen, 'The Date of Brewer's *Love-Sick King*', *The Modern Language Review*, 4/1 (1908), 87–88.
[213] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 171–72, 178–83.
[214] See Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', p. 168. For the list of allusions see Swaen's edition of the play, pp. vi–ix.
[215] Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 193–98; for a short textual introduction of *Cupid's Revenge* see Fredson Bowers, *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 317–32.
[216] See D. J. H. Clifford (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), p. 44.

If *The Lovesick King* was certainly written at least after 1611, how confident can we be of it having been performed for King James at Newcastle? This assertion is most conspicuously supported by Brewer's minute dramatization of a close affinity between royal and civic values. This ethical equivalence is achieved by a sustained alternation of cognate scenes representing Alured's and Thornton's gradual rise in fortunes. Such meticulous formal juxtaposition of the future king of England and the future mayor of Newcastle breaks with the rule normally observed in civic comedies where 'the convergence between citizen-hero and king is a last-minute affair'.[217] Instead, the play constructs beneficial reciprocity and deep ideological bond between the mercantile elite and their sovereign. Moreover, this carefully constructed relationship, which bears the mark of having been written for a particular occasion, idealizes the real social relations between James and his Newcastle hosts. Moreover, it allows Brewer to metatheatrically exploit staged eulogy and hospitality and fruitfully redirect these values towards the real monarch sitting in the audience. Such a reading, for example, would be quite inconceivable in the case of Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, in which Simon Eyre's entertainment of the anonymous King is much more peripheral to the plot and cannot be convincingly imagined to compliment a particular monarch in the audience.[218] Conversely, mutual courtesies between Alured and Roger Thornton in act IV, during the Prince's entry into the city, when the main historical plot finally conflates with the Newcastle underplot, would certainly have echoed the events which perhaps took place only days before, when Mayor Thomas Riddell and the rest of aldermen had received King James on Sandhill.[219] Thornton's welcoming words are particularly powerful in expressing unconditional loyalty of Novocastrians to their future monarch:

[217] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 200.
[218] *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, xix–xxi.
[219] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iii.83–166.

> Our Town, our selves, our lives are all your homigers,
> As the most lawful and indubitate Heir,
> To our late Sovereign Lord, and to your Throne.
> We fall as Subjects, you we know our own.[220]

Similarly, it is easy to imagine Thornton's inviting his sovereign to a house-warming feast – so as 'to grace / His humble Subjects and their new built Town / To take a homely Banquet' and 'heat our buildings' – as an on-stage voice of the Newcastle corporation, which is currently presenting the play as part of the entertainment offered to James himself;[221] perhaps the play was staged in the Merchant's Court on Sandhill, the usual venue for theatre productions in the town, which was located on the top floor of St. Katherine's Maison Dieu, a hospital founded by the historical Roger Thornton himself in 1412.[222] Like one of the ghostly fore-fathers of London trade companies in Anthony Munday's civic pageants, Thornton appears from beyond the grave; through theatrical performance in the building he had erected hundreds of years ago, he binds the audience into truly 'royal Neighborhood'.[223]

If Thornton embodies Newcastle pride and mercantile values, Alured rehearses James' ideal kingship and political achievements. Both invite identifications from the auditorium and engage the audience's imagination in order to shape and strengthen the real bonds between members of the town elite and the visiting sovereign. However, what is particularly intriguing about this relationship is that Thornton's civic virtue depends on distinctly Catholic forms of generosity and charity. Thornton's values and practices, which

[220] Ibid., IV.iii.95–98.
[221] Ibid., IV.iii.160–62.
[222] Richard Welford, *History of Newcastle and Gateshead*, vol. 1 (London: Scott, 1884), pp. 249–50. Cf. William Gray, *Chorographia or a survey of Newcastle upon Tine* (London, 1649), pp. 17–18.
[223] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iii.162.

are treated with a considerable amount of nostalgic idealization, are therefore compatible with Alured's precisely because they are Catholic.[224]

But what do we know of the author of *The Lovesick King*, Anthony Brewer, and the company performing the play? Brewer's identity remains a mystery. MS. Egerton 1994, now in the British Library, contains the play *The Two Noble Ladies and the Converted Conjuror*, in which 'Anth Brew:' makes an appearance in act III in a minor role as a Lord of Babylon.[225] Because other actors' names appear both in *The Two Noble Ladies* and in another Egerton MS play, *Edmund Ironside*, which like *The Lovesick King* dramatizes Anglo-Saxon history and shares some similarities in characters and plot, Dodds wanted to establish familiarity of *The Lovesick King*'s author with the manuscript play *Edmund Ironside*, which would in turn support the conjecture that the note 'Anth Brew' scribbled in the margins of *The Two Noble Ladies* indeed refers to the author of *The Lovesick King*.[226] Although Dodds' attempt is generally persuasive, it remains tentative.

The play's style, and the fact that Anthony Brewer is only known to be the author of a single play and possibly an actor in another, suggest that *The Lovesick King* was indeed an occasional and collaborative piece of writing, produced by the players on short notice by patching up existing material.[227] If this is the case, it may be more appropriate to consider the play's company provenance, since it is very likely that Anthony Brewer was not the sole

[224] Catholic nostalgia in post-Reformation England, which did not necessarily have be linked to practical Catholicism, has recently received considerable scholarly attention, see Eamon Duffy, 'The Conservative Voice in the English Reformation', in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 87–105; Eamon Duffy, 'Bare Ruined Choirs: Remembering Catholicism in Shakespeare's England', in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 40–57; Shell, *Oral Culture and Catholicism*; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*. On nostalgia and construction of 'merry England', see Hutton, *Rise and Fall*, pp. 153–99; and Patrick Collinson, 'Merry England on the Ropes: The contested Culture of the Early Modern English Town', in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 131–47. Thornton's religious conservatism is explored in greater detail in the last chapter.

[225] *The Two Noble Ladies*, III.ii.768–85.

[226] Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', pp. 158–59, 167–68; Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 3, pp. 44–45.

[227] Cf. Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', 164, 166.

author of the play. *The Two Noble Ladies* is a good starting point, for not only do the manuscript play and *The Lovesick King* share the name of Anthony Brewer, they also share elements of plot and characterization.

Both plays are tragicomedies about war which is providentially disrupted by love. While in *The Lovesick King*, Elgina predicts 'stern Wars [to be] transformed into Loves encounters', Miranda similarly points out that 'warrs are like to end with wedding' in *The Two Noble Ladies*.[228] Both plays have two strong female characters with similar characteristics: Justina, princess of Antioch, and Miranda, Souldan's daughter, can be paralleled with Cartesmunda and Elgina respectively. Canutus' seduction of Cartesmunda is repeated in *The Two Noble Ladies* by the conjurer Cyprian's wooing of saintly Justina. Moreover, Canutus' Herculean choice between Love and Honour, which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter, is in the manuscript play reiterated by the Cailiffe's son Clitophon. However, each of these shared units of theatrical action ends contrastingly in each play. Because *The Two Noble Ladies* is based on the hagiography of Saints Cyprian and Justina, Justina does not succumb to Cyprian's temptations, unlike Cartesmunda with regard to Canutus. By successfully resisting them, she converts the conjurer to Christianity. Clitophon's crossroads quandary has a similarly positive resolution, for the Califfe's son, unlike Canutus, is in the end prepared to conditionally leave Justina's presence in order to save his country from ruin.

Rebecca Rhoads has suggested that *The Two Noble Ladies* was performed by the Company of the Revels sometime between 1619 and 1623 at the Red Bull.[229] If that is the case, *The Lovesick King* would have been the older play of the two. But if *The Two Noble Ladies* had an earlier stage history, it would most probably have been performed by Queen Anne's men, whose members joined several other companies after their patron's death in

[228] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.274–75; *The Two Noble Ladies*, I.iv.336.
[229] *The Two Noble Ladies*, p. vii.

1619, including the Company of the Revels.[230] As I will demonstrate in the next chapter, *The Lovesick King* does indeed show the influence of Thomas Heywood, the main actor-playwright of the Queen's Men, and we know that one of the provincial splinter groups of the company performed at Newcastle in December 1615.[231] At least two separate companies under Queen Anne's patronage, one led by Thomas Swinnerton, the other by Martin Slater, were active from at least 1616.[232]

However, other literary influences on *The Lovesick King* suggest divergent associations. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cupid's Revenge*, which significantly informed Brewer's plot, was originally written for the Children of the Queen's Revels, only to re-emerge in the 1620s in the possession of Lady Elizabeth's players. Interestingly, William Barksted, the author of the narrative poem *Hiren or the Fair Greek*, which was the main source for Brewer's Canutus-Cartesmunda story, was also an actor and a dramatist of the Queen's Revels. Early in the 1610s he joined Lady Elizabeth's men and in 1616 Prince Charles' players.[233] If Barksted's theatrical connections are of any significance, then Prince Charles' men could have been involved in the performance of *The Lovesick King*. We have no evidence of them ever visiting Newcastle, but that is probably due to the incompleteness of corporate accounts, for they regularly performed in the north in the late Jacobean period and there is no reason to think they would avoid stopping at Newcastle.[234]

At any rate, a particular metatheatrical reference in *The Lovesick King* strongly suggests that professional actors were involved in the performance. Among the citizens, who at the beginning of the play observe Thornton's raptured monologues, is also Mrs. Goodgift,

[230] Ibid.; Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 1, pp. 165–66.
[231] TWA, MD.NC/FN/1/1/10, fol. 268^{v}; cf. *REED: Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, p. 148.
[232] Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 1, p. 160.
[233] Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, vol. 22, p. 357; Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 179.
[234] For example, they performed at Naworth Castle, Cumberland, in summer 1618 and winter 1621 (*REED: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, pp. 136, 138).

who claims that Thornton must be 'one of those Players of Interludes that dwels at Newcastle, and conning of his Part, for surely these are other mens matters hee talks of?'[235] However, the involvement of professional players does not necessarily exclude harnessing local talents, particularly in a play which so vigorously focuses on local identity and breaching of theatrical boundaries in order to celebrate the actual monarch's visit. In early seventeenth-century Newcastle, plays were not only performed by travelling players, but also local grammar school boys and even members of the town elite.[236] The town clerk William Jackson certainly possessed considerable clowning skills, for in October 1600 he performed in an unidentified comedy by Terence.[237]

Brewer's authorship of *The Lovesick King* hardly provides any definite conclusion regarding the play's wider theatrical milieu. Throughout my discussion, I will refer to Anthony Brewer as the author of the play, but it is important to understand that behind this attribution of convenience lies a cluster of uncertainties. Although Brewer may very well be the sole author of *The Lovesick King*, it is reasonable to assume, as Dodds did, that it was written in collaboration with his fellow actors and local Newcastle patrons, who evidently commissioned the play.[238] The interests and intentions of patrons, which I will endeavour to elucidate in the following chapters, clearly trumped any other aesthetic considerations.

An important part of these intentions was also the display of loyalty and religious allegiances. Unlike a clearly 'Protestant standpoint' of the anonymous late sixteenth-century play *Edmond Ironside*,[239] *The Lovesick King* is less overtly religiously polemical. Highlighting religious divisions in a play which centred on ideas of peace and unity and, moreover, was intended to entertain the King and keep him in good humour, would seem

[235] *The Lovesick King*, II.i.90–92.
[236] *REED: Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, pp. 133, 135, 138.
[237] TWA, MD.NC/FN/1/1/7, fol. 204^{r}; *REED: Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, pp. 133, 137.
[238] Cf. Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', p. 164.
[239] Scragg, 'Saxons versus Danes', p. 106.

rather inappropriate. Nevertheless, a closer look at the text reveals its author's deep interest and commitment to religious concerns. It is telling that Brewer does not construct loyalism of the Newcastle elite in opposition to Catholicism, even though the plot offers multiple opportunities for railing against popery. Instead, such fundamental religious issues as idolatry are not self-evidently associated with Catholicism, nor simply represented as a neutral consequence of a morally corrupt life clearly antithetical to Alured's and Thornton's heroic virtue. Although indirectly, Brewer nevertheless associates idolatry with Calvinism. Significantly, however, all the opposing parties in the play are ultimately subdued and overshadowed by Alured's open, magnanimous, inclusive, and cosmopolitan politics.

Brewer's celebration of James' unionist policy cannot avoid a critique of Elizabethan political practice and iconography, which emphasised the Queen's virgin, isolated, and impenetrable body. Although in Brewer's play virginity itself is not disparaged, the chaste unions of lovers and states are preferred to frigid isolationism. In the context of Jacobean Newcastle, such opposition to Elizabethan iconography might have been intended to encourage James to distance himself from Protestant Tudor myths in order to embrace greater tolerance towards moderate, loyal Catholics and ease the religious persecution. But before I address *The Lovesick King*'s representational strategies and confessional issues, I will consider in greater detail the social and religious context of the 1617 performance.

Roger Howell has pointed out that both 1617 and 1655, the year when *The Lovesick King* was published, 'marked an occasion when the corporate privileges of Newcastle seemed threatened'.[240] In 1617, there was a dispute over conservation of the River Tyne and adulteration of Newcastle coal; in 1655, Ralph Gardner published the pamphlet *England's Grievance Discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade*, which encouraged Parliament to take

[240] Roger Howell, 'King Alfred and the Proletariat: A Case of the Saxon Yoke', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4/47 (1969), 97–100 (p. 100).

action against the coal oligarchs of Newcastle.[241] Following Gardner's attack, John Sweeting, a stationer from London's Popeshead alley, published *The Lovesick King*. Intriguingly, Sweeting himself was implicated in the controversy. Originally from Elworth parish in Somerset, Sweeting was not only a stationer but also a fee farmer. Most of the lands and properties, which he acquired from Parliament in 1652, were in Northumberland. His rents included thirty pounds a year from 'the cole Minnes in the ffeilds of Denton' and 26s 8d 'out of Colemine in Wickham'.[242] By publishing Brewer's play, Sweeting was also protecting his financial investment. But whether his Northumberland connections were essential for him to acquire the manuscript of the play is difficult to say.

3.2 The Royal Visit

King James entered Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 23 April 1617. He was received in pomp by the mayor Sir Thomas Riddell (1567/8–1650), the sheriff Michael (Nicholas) Milburn, and the city's aldermen.[243] It is important to note that a mistake has crept into secondary literature with regard to who occupied the offices of the mayor and the sheriff at the time of James' visit. Misreading Brand, Nichols suggested that the mayor at the time was Lionel Maddison (1530–1624), while the sheriff was William Bonner.[244] Subsequent literature has simply reproduced Nichols' mistake. The reason for its perpetuation mainly lies in the fact that the original manuscript account of the king's visit, which Brand found in the corporation archives, is no longer extant; also, Brand's rather unfortunate presentation of data led to

[241] Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, pp. xxxiv, 62–63; Welford, *History of Newcastle*, pp. 214–19; Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, pp. 529–30.
[242] TNA, Prob/11/307, fols. 211^{r}, 214^{r}.
[243] Welford, *History of Newcastle*, vol. 2, pp. 213, 219; John Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne*, vol. 2 (London: White, 1789), p. 452.
[244] John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities, of King James the First*, vol. 3 (London: Nichols, 1828), pp. 280–82.

misunderstandings. Brand's note on James' visit immediately follows the information that Maddison and Bonner were mayor and sheriff respectively in 1617; that is of course true, with the qualification that they were only elected to their offices on Michaelmas that year, i.e. on 29 September 1617. Back in April, the mayor was still Thomas Riddell, elected in Michaelmas 1616.

It was the second and last of James' visits to the north-eastern capital. If in April 1603, James had spent only four nights in the city, impatiently pressing south to receive the crown of England in London, he remained, in 1617, in Newcastle for twelve nights in spite of his 'naturall longing' and 'salmonlyke instinct' to return to his homeland after fourteen years.[245] James' 1617 progress to Scotland was an opportunity for his subjects throughout Britain to demonstrate hospitality and loyalty to their sovereign by preparing orations, receptions, and banquets, by gift-giving and various entertainments, including plays, dances, musical performances, hunting, and horse-races. The king on the other hand, who had insisted on taking on the expensive and burdensome journey in spite of his courtiers' general opposition, hoped not only to solicit moral but also financial support; moreover, he intended to press on the leaders of the Scottish Kirk to adopt and conform to the administration and practices of the Church in England.[246]

The number of the retinue accompanying the king is unclear, but it certainly did not amount to five thousand people, which the citizens of Edinburgh were told initially to provide for.[247] A number of peers and prelates accompanied James throughout his journey, while others joined the train only later in the progress or remained in the King's company for a limited period of time. However, throughout most of his progress, including the Newcastle

[245] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 2, p. 297, 309; Brand, *The History and Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 450, 452.
[246] For a brief summary of the progress see G. P. V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant: Or, The Court of King James I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 259–63.
[247] G. A. Sinclair, 'The Scottish Progress of James VI', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 10/37 (1912), 21–28 (p. 22); William A. McNeill and Peter G. B. McNeill, 'The Scottish Progress of James VI, 1617', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 75/199 (1996), 38–51 (p. 38).

visit, the King was attended by the following favourites and dignitaries: Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lenox (Lord Steward), William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (Lord Chamberlain), his brother Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, George Villiers, Earl of Buckingham, Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, Francis Manners, Earl of Rutland, Thomas Erskine, Viscount Fenton, John Mordaunt, Baron Mordaunt, Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State, and three bishops, Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, James Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, and Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln.[248]

Of the forty-five notable stops in England, which included old illustrious cities and private country residences of the gentry, where the king received entertainment after leaving Theobalds on 17 March, Newcastle stands out as the place where James tarried the longest.[249] For James, Newcastle was one of the most important stops on his way to Scotland, which clearly reflects the city's growing economic power and wider political significance. On the one hand, Newcastle was a rich port town with a booming coal trade, contributing considerably to the Crown's revenue, and on the other, a gateway to the unstable and still crime-ridden borderlands, which were, after James' succession, somewhat optimistically termed Middle Shires. In the King's idealized vision of Britain these Shires became 'the Nauell or Vmbilick of both Kingdomes, planted and peopled with Ciuilitie and riches'.[250]

Although James is generally thought to have left Newcastle on 5 May, Randall Martin suggested that he might have stayed in the city longer than initially planned, even until

[248] See Sinclair, 'The Scottish Progress', pp. 24–25; Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, pp. 255–56; Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 121–22; Chamberlain to Carleton, 22 February 1617 (Norman Egbert McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), p. 55); TNA, PC 2/29, p. 38.

[249] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, pp. 257, 389–90. The pre-planned twelve-night long stay in Newcastle is only really comparable to the nine days James had spent in Lincoln in late March; none of the other stops in England were longer than four nights. Cf. Chamberlain to Carleton, 15 March 1617 (McClure, *The Letters*, vol. 2, p. 63).

[250] J. P. Sommerville (ed.), *King James VI and I: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 169; Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 133–157; Anna Groundwater, 'The Chasm Between James VI and I's Vision of the Orderly "Middle Shires" and the "Wicket" Scottish Borderers between 1587 and 1625', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30/4 (2007), 105–32.

mid-May.[251] On 11 May, Giovanni Battista Lionello, Venetian Secretary in England, reported to the Doge and Senate that

> [t]he king remains sixty miles from the frontiers of Scotland, and is staying at Newcastle longer than he intended, partly on account of the very bad weather which has rendered the roads impassable and also because a quantity of his baggage, which left a week ago in two ships, cannot arrive there at the appointed time.[252]

British weather could certainly have prolonged James' stay in Newcastle. According to John Chamberlain, the past winter had offered nothing but 'perpetuall weping weather' and on 15 April, whilst the royal train was in York, Secretary Lake complained to Dudley Carleton that their travel had been aggravated by 'fowle ways and cold wether'.[253]

The issue of Lionello's incongruous report is, however, easily resolved when we realize that his correspondence with Venetian government had been dated in new style. On 6 April, for example, Lionello writes that 'king continues his journey in good health and will reach Lincoln to-day'.[254] In old style, 6 April would correspond to 27 March, the exact day which king was supposed to enter Lincoln according to the official Gests.[255] The Venetian Secretary's letter written on 11 May (n. s.) is therefore probably only referring to a potential delay due to the foreseen impediments on the road, which the King might have been anticipating whilst at Newcastle around 1 May. But the weather and conditions on the road seemed to have improved in time and on 6 May James' train was already at Bothall Castle in

[251] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 214.
[252] *CSP Venetian*, vol. 14, p. 503.
[253] Chamberlain to Carleton, 8 February 1617 (McClure, *The Letters*, vol. 2, p. 51); TNA, SP 84/77, fol. 34^{v}; cf. Chamberlain to Carleton, 19 April 1617 (McClure, *The Letters*, vol. 2, p. 70).
[254] *CSP Venetian*, vol. 14, p. 483.
[255] Ibid., p. 483; Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 257.

Northumberland.[256] The only change to the plan seems to have occurred at Berwick. Nichols' sources, Lake's letter to Winwood, and the diarist Thomas Chaytor of Butterby, all confirm that James had reached Berwick on 10 May as planned, but crossed the border to Scotland already on 13 May, two days ahead of schedule.[257] James finally entered Edinburgh on 16 May: in spite of awful weather, without delay.[258]

J. J. Anderson, the editor of the *REED* Newcastle-upon-Tyne volume, mentions James I's visit of 1603, although dismissing its importance for theatre history; however, he completely omits any discussion of the 1617 visit.[259] At any rate, the now-lost narrative of the king's entry into Newcastle in 1617 appears not to have differed substantially from the one at the beginning of his reign or, in fact, similar accounts of civic receptions offered to him during the present progress:

> April 23d this year, King James, on his way towards Scotland, came to Newcastle upon Tyne, where he was met upon the Sand-Hill by the mayor, aldermen and sheriff; and after an oration made by the townclerk, was presented by the mayor in the name of the whole corporation, with a great standing bowl, to the value of an hundred jacobuses [125 pounds], and an hundred marks in gold; the mayor carrying the sword before him, accompanied by his brethren on their foot-cloths.[260]

And yet, further surviving traces of the visit demonstrate that the proceedings on the following days cannot simply be dismissed as prosaic courtesies. They help us gaze beyond the dull

[256] Cf. TNA, SP 14/92, fols. 73^{r}–74^{r}.
[257] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 300; TNA, SP 14/92, fol. 91^{r}; PG, ADD.MS. 866, fols. 57^{v}–58^{r}.
[258] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 317; TNA, SP 84/77, fols. 98^{r}–99^{v}. The letter of Lake to Winwood is dated 6 May, which must be a *lapsus calami*.
[259] *REED: Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, p. xix.
[260] Brand, *The History and Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 452; cf. Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 280.

varnish of official report to learn more about the kinds of entertainment the king might have experienced at Newcastle, and about their political significance.

The King entered the city on St. George's Day. At York, Edmund Sheffield, Lord President of the Council of the North and some other members of the Council must have joined the progress, for on 23 April they held a meeting in the Newcastle Guildhall, and 'Lord Sheffield being then president and knight of the garter, celebrated the feast of St. George at that town'.[261] At least in the early sixteenth century, Newcastle celebrated the feast of St. George with a public procession, which included some theatrical elements: in April 1510 the corporation spent 11s 11d on building a dragon.[262] No evidence of such activity exists for the early seventeenth century. The occasion of the royal visit and the presence of the Lord President must have encouraged citizens of Newcastle to prepare a spectacle worthy of their noble guests. Although we can only speculate about the details and extent of the entertainment, the Earl of Dunbar's celebration of St. George's Day at Berwick in 1609 or *Chester's Triumph*, invented and performed by the burgesses of Chester on St. George's Day in honour of Prince Henry in 1610, can serve as appropriate parallel examples.[263]

Almost nothing is known of the commitments and pastimes enjoyed by the courtiers in the week following James' entry, until 1 May, when the King visited Heaton Hall, the seat of Henry Babbington, whom he knighted.[264] And yet, sparse as the details of James' first week in Newcastle are, they seem particularly intriguing. On 24 April (n. s.), Concino Concini, Marquis D'Ancre, a corrupt and widely-hated first minister of the under-age Louis XIII of France, was murdered in Paris. The plot to execute Concini was devised by Louis himself and some of his loyal peers. Ancre's death was welcomed throughout Europe, in spite of its being

[261] Brand, *The History and Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 452.
[262] *REED: Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, pp. 13–14.
[263] AC, Sy, Q.II.66, fols. 1^{v}–2^{r}; Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 2, pp. 290–306.
[264] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 281.

generally perceived as premeditated murder. King James received the news of Concini's death at Newcastle. On May 25 (n. s.), Lionello wrote:

> The news of the death of the Marshal of Ancre reached him while he was at Newcastle, and about to dine. He heard it with the utmost satisfaction, imparted it to those who were present in some pregnant phrases, and ordered that all who were present should drink with him to the health of the Most Christian King [Louis XIII] and to the success of his glorious undertakings.[265]

We know that this toast to the well-being of the king of France had happened sometime before 1 May thanks to Winwood's letter to Carleton, who claims that James' approval of Concini's death was not only apparent 'by the outeward demonstration of his exceedinge ioy and contentment when first he receaued the newse thereof, but also by letters, w*hi*ch w*i*th his owne hande he hath written to the ffrench Kinge'.[266] Little more can be inferred from these reports about James' entertainment apart from acknowledging that Ancre's murder must have offered an additional excuse for merriment and celebration.

The highlight of the visit most probably took place on Sunday 4 May, the day before James had left the city, when the King and his nobles dined with the Mayor and aldermen.[267] The occasion has been, not without reason, favoured by the critics as a suitable event for the performance of *The Lovesick King*.[268] On the same day, either before or after the feast, James also knighted Peter Riddell, half-brother of the Mayor Thomas Riddell, and John Delaval; the former was a member of the Company of Hostmen and of Catholic background, although a

[265] *CSP Venetian*, vol. 14, p. 509; cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 203.
[266] TNA, SP 84/77, fol. 82^{v}.
[267] Brand, *The History and Antiquities*, vol. 2, p. 452.
[268] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 202–03.

conforming Protestant himself, the latter a Northumberland gentleman from a firmly Protestant family.[269]

The presence of borderers in Newcastle such as Sir John Delaval and Sir John Fenwick was due to the king's meeting with the commissioners of the Middle Shires after dinner to address matters of local administration. Amongst the invited were also Lord William Howard of Naworth, a notorious Catholic, and his nephew Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden.[270] As a Catholic, Lord Howard could not hold public office, but his conforming nephew could, and through Lord Walden's incumbency as a border commissioner and co-lord lieutenant of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, an office he shared with the Earl of Cumberland, Lord Howard could exert his unofficial authority in the borderlands.[271] Revived Catholic confidence in Durham and English Middle Shires in the mid-1610s can in part be ascribed to the increased influence of the pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic Howard faction at court.[272] The Howards grew in influence after the deaths of George Home (1556–1611), Earl of Dunbar, the chief border commissioner, in January 1611, and Robert Cecil, Dunbar's vigorous supporter, in May 1612, and finally remained unopposed after the marriage between the King's favourite Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard, the daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, in December 1613. In spring 1617, the Howards had only just recovered from the disastrous Overbury scandal and were enjoying their final period of James' favour, which soon ended with the Earl of Suffolk's suspension from the office of Lord Treasurer in 1618 and his subsequent trial before Star Chamber for corruption, which also affected the fortunes of his son Lord Walden.[273]

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[269] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 282.
[270] TNA, SP 14/92 fol. 72^{r}; Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, p. 191.
[271] See Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 184–86.
[272] Ibid., pp. 179–91.
[273] Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 198–99; Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603–1642*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1999), pp. 43–45. For the Overbury affair and the fall of Robert Carr and Frances Howard see Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant*, pp. 190–204; David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 145–92; and

However, in May 1617, James' trust in the Howards seemed unshakeable, although an opposition to the family's northern head, Lord William Howard, had been mounting on many fronts. On the morning of 4 May, before the king's meeting with the prominent northerners regarding the administration of borderlands, the Privy Councillors discussed the petitions presented by the tenants of Barony of Gilsland, Cumberland, to the king at York against their landlord William Howard.[274] It was only a single incident in a protracted dispute between Howard and his Gilsland tenants, who in spring 1611 rebelled and complained against the loss of their customary tenant-right, which historically depended on their military border service.[275]

Moreover, Lord Howard and his clients in Northumberland, principally Roger and Henry Widdrington, had been under continuous attack throughout the preceding year from northern Protestant officials for their recusancy, various misconducts and alleged support for Jesuits, and even for having been privy to the Gunpowder Plot. The vigorously anti-Catholic Newcastle citizen Henry Sanderson, alderman Sir Henry Anderson, and William Morton, vicar of St. Nicholas church in Newcastle and archdeacon of Durham, who named Lord William Howard the chief factotum of the popish faction in the North, were feeding the Puritan party at court with scandalous anti-Howard material.[276] It bore little success. Similarly, the Privy Councillors at Newcastle ruled that the grievances of Gilsland tenants against Lord Howard originated in their 'Clamorous disposic*i*on' and were therefore completely

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Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News, Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[274] TNA, PC 2/29, p. 38; SP 14/92, fol. 72^{r}; CH, J1/8, fol. 19$^{r–v}$.

[275] CH, J1/8, fol. 16^{r}. The government claimed that ever since the union of the two crowns, the military service and customary privileges arising out of it were obsolete, so the landlords were encouraged to convert customary tenancies to leaseholds. By following this policy, Lord William Howard was in fact recognizing legal and political consequences of the Union.

[276] TNA, SP 14/86, fols. 68^{r}–69^{v}; SP 14/86, fols. 196^{r}–197^{r}; SP 14/86, fols. 221^{r}–222^{v}; SP 14/87, fols. 16^{r}–17^{v}; SP 14/87, fols. 18^{r}–19^{v}; SP 14/92, fols. 86^{r}–87^{v}. Cf. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, pp. 187–91. The last letter is in Henry Anderson's hand, not Morton's. I also doubt it was written in 9 May 1617, but rather a year before, in 1616, as internal evidence suggests. Anderson's letters to Winwood in April and May 1616 should be read in the context of his shrievalty of Northumberland, which concluded at Michaelmas.

unfounded.[277] They ordered petitioners to be imprisoned and punished. The King reaffirmed his trust in Lord Howard, whom he never prosecuted for recusancy in spite of the outrageous reports, his open Catholicism, and the ebbing fortunes of the court Howards.[278] The atmosphere of peace and reconciliation surrounding James' visit might have helped to temporarily smooth down the religious tensions in the region, which only escalated again a year later when the seminary priest William Southerne was executed in Newcastle on the orders of Lord Sheffield, who proved tactless in the delicate local circumstances in matters of faith.[279]

Instead, on 4 May 1617, Lord Howard and Lord Walden most likely accompanied James and his entourage to his final banquet in Newcastle sponsored by the Mayor and aldermen. Allowing an avowed and powerful Catholic of the North and region's representative of the court Howards to dine at the expense of the corporation would certainly have been welcomed by some members of the town council and perceived as a clear slap in the face of the hard-line Protestant faction within the city, in particular Henry Anderson, who as a sheriff of Northumberland in the previous year invested so much energy in denouncing Lord Howard and other Catholics in the border counties.

Travelling alongside the King was another nephew of Lord William Howard: Thomas Howard (1585–1646), Earl of Arundel. Arundel's presence at the performance of *The Lovesick King* in Newcastle is perhaps even more significant in the context of the play's confessional politics. His father Philip Howard, an ardent Catholic, had died alone in 1595 after a decade's imprisonment in the Tower of London under charges of treason.[280] Philip was very much a victim of relentless Elizabethan persecution, for even after his death his family

[277] TNA, PC 2/29, p. 38.
[278] Cf. Reinmuth, 'Lord William Howard (1563–1640)', p. 232–34.
[279] Forster, 'Ven. William Southerne', pp. 14–15.
[280] For Philip's life and martyrdom see John Hungerford Pollen and William MacMahon (eds.), *The Ven. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, 1557–1595* (London: CRS, 1919).

remained marginalized. Philip's lands and titles were only restored to Thomas after James' succession, who was more willing to forgive the past offences of English nobility, especially if those had been committed out of respect and loyalty towards his mother Mary Stuart. Although Arundel was raised a Catholic, undoubtedly under the great shadow of his martyred father whom he never met, he eventually converted to Anglicanism. In July 1616, Arundel, still a Catholic, was admitted to the Privy Council. But on Christmas Day, much against his mother's wishes, he conformed and publicly received communion in the King's Chapel, causing a sensation at court.[281] His wife Alethea Talbot remained a Catholic. Although part of the reason why Arundel became a member of the established church was to procure advancement at court, the sincerity of his conversion should not be suspected. Arundel was a moderate Catholic for whom doctrine was hardly an issue. In conforming, Hervey writes, he simply affirmed his unquestionable loyalty and sincere devotion to the King, who had so far treated him with great kindness, and rejected Catholic intrigue and political instability.[282] Similar sentiments must have been shared among the rest of the moderate Howards, either Catholic or Protestant. For them, and for another prominent crypto-Catholic in James' Privy Council present at Newcastle, the Earl of Rutland, the reason of state trumped the reason of religion.[283]

Ideologically, *The Lovesick King* would have suited religious moderates in James' entourage as well as in the city. Although religious tensions and differences in Newcastle were increasing, the cross-confessional cooperation within the civic elite was still strong and fundamentally sustained by one immensely profitable and socially defining business interest

[281] Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), pp. 115–16; Chamberlain to Carleton, 4 January 1617 (McClure, *The Letters*, vol. 2, p. 47).
[282] Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections*, pp. 116–19.
[283] Rutland had been made a knight of the Garter a year before, which Chamberlain thought to be a 'strange choise' since his wife 'is an open and knowne recusant, and he is saide to have many daungerous people about him' (Chamberlain to Carleton, 30 April 1616 (McClure, *The Letters*, vol. 1, p. 625)). Rutland joined the Privy Council on 6 April 1617 at Lincoln (SP 14/91, fol. 35^{v}).

of the Newcastle elite: the Tyneside coal trade. The urban oligarchy of Newcastle mostly consisted of members of the recently incorporated Company of Hostmen, who not only controlled the lucrative coal trade, but also held the majority of civic offices.

If the celebration of unity in the main plot of *The Lovesick King* is centrally concerned with Jacobean political ideology, upward mobility and social harmony in the Newcastle subplot are brought about through rigorous exercise of mercantile values. This representation of ideological compatibility between James' idealized kingship and Newcastle big-business ethics is furthermore demonstrated by their material interdependence: the city can offer financial and military assistance to their sovereign when the king safeguards the citizens' rights, privileges, and concessions. And yet, when James visited Newcastle, material interdependence between the city and the Crown, which Brewer's play promotes, was not only an abstract iteration confined to the stage. Both parties must also have perceived the visit as a business opportunity, and James especially did not want to leave Newcastle empty-handed.

On 25 April 1617, Ned Sherburne, Dudley Carleton's agent in London, diligently wrote to his master in The Hague about private business. He concluded, as he routinely did, with reporting the relevant news from London. His usual update at the time included news from the King's progress:

> His Ma*ies*tie thanks be to God, is in perfect healthe & hath bin so, in all his Iorney; he is nowe at Newcastle where he remains till towards thend of May; intending of the Aldermen of that Towne to borrowe a good som*m*e of money, & for their securitie to pawne *th*e Custome of Cole of that Towne vnto them: w*hi*ch I am informed is worth yerely to his Ma*ies*tie 22000^{li}.[284]

[284] TNA, SP 84/77 fols. 59^{v}–60^{r}.

Why Sherburne would have thought the King might stay in Newcastle until the end of May is unclear. But the more interesting part of the Newcastle news refers to the loan James was going to extract from the city council. The royal treasury was, also due to the King's excessive liberality, chronically underfunded; the progress to Scotland could not have happened without James raising another loan from the City of London of just under £100,000.[285] The King was therefore understandably keen to collect as many gifts and cheap loans on his journey as possible. On entering Edinburgh, he pocketed 10,000 marks in gold (c. £6,600), whilst an even larger gift or a loan, if we are to trust Sherburne, had already been granted to him at Newcastle.[286]

Although Sherburne was a civil servant and a secretary of the East India Company, which would have given him access to reliable sources regarding royal finances and big business, his estimate on the annual customs income from coal trade seems exaggerated. According to the available data, the Crown's revenue from the taxable Newcastle coal at the time would have been only between £4,500 and £5,000 annually instead of £22,000.[287] Regardless of the scale of the Crown's revenue from Newcastle coal, Sherburne's claim is of considerable importance for our discussion. On the one hand, the King's financial business in Newcastle further elucidates his desire to stay in the city for almost a fortnight, and on the other, it importantly contextualizes one of the central scenes in *The Lovesick King*: the conflation of the two plots. When the soon-to-be King of England, Alured, enters Newcastle, he is greeted by the soon-to-be Newcastle mayor, Roger Thornton. Thornton's display of

[285] Robert Ashton, *The Crown and the Money Market, 1603–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), pp. 122–27; Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts*, p. 44. For more on debt and royal finances under James VI and I see Menna Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts: The Career of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) and John Cramsie, *Kingship and Crown Finance under James VI and I, 1603–1625* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2002).
[286] Chamberlain to Carleton, 24 May 1617 (McClure, *The Letters*, vol. 2, p. 78).
[287] Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, p. 488.

loyalism and the mutual courtesies between the prince and Thornton, which have already been noted, are supplemented by the material support the merchant offers to his sovereign:

> Thornton: Go forward nobles Princes, your work's good,
>
> And to incourage it, ten thousand pounds
>
> Ile lend your grace to leavy Souldiers,
>
> Which if you never pay, Ile never aske,
>
> And for my own imployment to your aid,
>
> Ile lend (if you will honor me so far)
>
> All the full strength Newcastle can afford.
>
> I have seven hundred men that call me Master.[288]

Interpretations of Thornton's generosity towards his king should not be confined to highlighting its formal textual dependence on the character of the legendary London mayor Dick Whittington, who was similarly prepared to share his wealth and cancel Henry V's debts.[289] Although links between Brewer's Thornton and Whittington are evident, the loan of £10,000, which Thornton offers to Alured, is not a simple literary allusion or rhetorical exaggeration; the role of Thornton's generosity in the play's religious discourse will be discussed in the last chapter. More importantly, it is very likely that real financial transactions indeed occurred, and that Brewer's play may actually be recording the amount of the loan given to James by the Newcastle elite.

[288] *The Lovesick King*, IV. Iii. 126–33.
[289] Heywood *The famous and remarkable history*, sigs. E4^{r}–E6^{r}.

A final, significant detail about the entertainments of King James at Newcastle, which has so far escaped scholars' attention, comes from Thomas Chaytor's diary. On 5 May, the day the King was leaving the town, a foot race was organized:

> A foote course att newcast*le* 5 maie by one Cooke a northerone souayne [swain] and xx sotheron men manie pound*e*s wer lost by the northerone g*e*nt*lemen* for Cooke did loose the course out of crie [beyond dispute].[290]

The southerners challenging Cooke were certainly men from the King's train. But what is really significant about this jocular expression of north-south rivalry is that it might have been provoked by the performance of *The Lovesick King* the day before. In Brewer's play, the northern Newcastle colliers are often juxtaposed with Croydon charcoal vendors: whereas the northerners are honest and larger-than-life heroes who defeat the Danish army, the southerners are deceitful 'Cowards to their Country', for they did 'not fight against the *Danes*' as Novocastrians had.[291] Grim appropriately associates the 'company of conquering colliers' with unstoppable forces of the underworld ('*Phlegitan*, *Acaron* and *Barrathrum*, all those Low Countries cannot yield you such a company') and brags about their superhuman abilities:[292]

> I dare undertake with my seven hundred Colliers in six days, under ground, to march to London […] give but every man a bushel of Apples to his Breakfast, and you shall hear the wind roar and shake the ground like an Earthquake.[293]

[290] PGL, Add.MS.866, fol. 57^{v}.
[291] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.114–15.
[292] Ibid., IV.iii.156–57.
[293] Ibid., IV.iii.144–52.

It is not hard to imagine that all this boasting, albeit voiced by a clown, might have provoked some form of challenge from the southerners. A running match was a common way to assess physical abilities and entertain the crowds with betting. Ironically, northern bragging failed to materialize.

3.3 The Crypto-Catholic Lords of Coal

Who were the most influential Newcastle citizens and what was the significance of their generous support for James? The coal-trade monopolists and municipal government had been firmly intertwined in Newcastle since 1583, when on behalf of the burgesses Queen Elizabeth I granted a ninety-nine-year 'Grand Lease' of the coal mines in Gateshead and Whickham to the then mayor Henry Anderson and his associate, alderman William Selby. Subsequently, Anderson and Selby distributed portions of the lease among their mainly Catholic friends and families, who already almost exclusively owned the coal-rich lands on the south bank of the river Tyne, stretching from Ryton to Hebburn.[294] It is not exactly clear why, instead of transferring the lease directly to the corporation, the Queen placed it into private hands, but it is indeed likely that the former would have invited stark opposition from Parliament, the City of London, and the Bishopric of Durham, who was the original owner of the mines.[295] Even so, the decision sparked a bitter struggle in the 1590s between the small number of grand lessees and the rest of the burgesses, who felt betrayed by the cartel and excluded from participation in the profits.[296]

[294] Clavering, 'Catholics and the Rise', p. 17.
[295] Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, vol. 1, p. 514. Rosamund Oates claims that Newcastle had not yet been incorporated as a town at the time the Grand Lease was sold and could not have legally acted as a potential buyer ('Catholicism, Conformity and the Community', p. 68). This is clearly not the case, since Elizabeth's 1589 charter, which Oates claims finally incorporated mayor and burgesses, only expands the already-existing corporate privileges by granting new, particularly judicial liberties (separate court of admiralty etc.); see Brand, *The History and Antiquities*, vol. 2, pp. 19–20, 184–85; Welford, *The History of Newcastle*, vol. 3, pp. 53–55.
[296] John U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, vol. 2 (London: Frank Cass, 1966 [first published in 1933]), pp. 121–26.

The north-eastern coalfield could pride itself with rich shallow coal reserves, which conveniently stretched along the Tyne. The coal deposits located around the river were easily accessed and shipped, first by keel boats and then with colliers, along the east coast to other parts of the realm or further south-east to the Continent. The North-East had dominated the national coal production since the Middle Ages, although it only really started booming after 1570. By the end of the seventeenth century the contribution of the north-eastern coalfield amounted to around half of Britain's total coal production.[297] And yet the central group of mines included in the Grand Lease, located south of the river at Whickham, dwarfed all 'the other giant collieries of the region'.[298] The Ship Money assessment of 1636 valued the Grand Lease part of the Whickham mines – excluding the other adjacent pits within the parish, which were technically part of the same colliery – at £4,500 annually, more than twice the value of the second largest colliery at Blaydon further upstream.[299]

The grand lessees and their associates, later incorporated as Hostmen, had, so to speak, hit a gold mine. It comes as no surprise that the mid-seventeenth-century poem *Upon the Coal-Pits about Newcastle upon Tine*, attributed to John Cleveland, emphatically invites us to imagine Newcastle coal as more precious than South American gold, since it was equally profitable and indispensable to almost every human activity, including the refinement of gold itself:

> England's perfect World! has Indies too!
>
> Correct your Maps: New-Castle is Peru.
>
> Let th' haughty Spanyard triumph, till 'tis told

[297] Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, vol. 1, pp. 68, 95–96.
[298] Ibid., p. 78.
[299] Ibid., pp. 79–80.

Our sootie Min'rals purifie his gold.[300]

In 1617, both Mayor Thomas Riddell and Sheriff Michael Milburn were members of the Company of Hostmen and the more ancient Company of Merchant Adventurers.[301] Almost as a rule, the other influential burgesses boasted the same pedigree of elite corporate associations.

In the royal charter of 1600, Elizabeth reaffirmed the town privileges after the protracted internal struggle of underprivileged citizens against the holders of the Grand Lease, whereby the sole right to sell the Tyneside coal was in the hands of the Newcastle freemen, who were also members of the Company of Hostmen.[302] In exchange, the Hostmen had to pay to the Crown a customs duty of 1s per chaldron of coal transported from the Tyne to be sold within the realm.[303] The fraternity of Hostmen, which is described in the charter to have existed in Newcastle 'from the tyme whereof the memorie of man is not to the contrarie', was now officially incorporated 'for the loading and better disposing of sea coles and pitt coles, and stones called grind-stones'.[304] Since the core of the original 48 members of the Company were grand lessees, 'the Lords of Coal' continued to exercise control over municipal administration. In fact, every Newcastle mayor from 1600 until the outbreak of the Civil War, with an exception of William Warmouth, was a Hostman.[305] The substantial revenues which the Crown obtained hassle-free from the Tyneside coal-trade guaranteed the government's

[300] Anonymous, 'Upon the Coale-Pits about New-Castle upon Tine', in *News from Newcastle* (London, 1651), p. 1; John M. Berdan (ed.), *The Poems of John Cleveland* (New York: Grafton Press, 1903), p. 187.
[301] Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, pp. 267. Thomas Riddell joined the Company of Hostmen in January 1602, Michael Milburn in April 1603.
[302] For the relevant passages of the original English translation of the charter relating to the Hostmen see Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, pp. 10–19; for the Latin original see Brand, *The History and Antiquities*, vol. 2, pp. 596–627.
[303] Nef, *The Rise*, vol. 2, p. 125; Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, 17–18.
[304] Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen*, p. 10.
[305] Nef, *The Rise*, vol. 2, p. 126.

continuous support for the city and the Company, which grew in confidence and wealth although its monopoly did not remain unchallenged.[306]

Yet the evolution of Newcastle's Hostmen is not only intriguing from the perspective of the history of early capitalism or the nascent British coal industry, but also because the story of coal and power in Newcastle is intimately linked with religious politics and particularly Catholicism. The issue regarding the Grand Lease in the 1590s was not only that the monopoly of 'the Lords of Coal' enriched '8 or 10 priuate men' instead of benefitting the town of Newcastle as a whole, but also that some members of this privileged group were 'recusant*e*s and diu*er*s others notoriously suspected to be popishly and evill affected'.[307] These allegations were not simple slurs. The newly-appointed Dean of Durham, William James, who at the time regularly complained to Robert Cecil about widespread recusancy and religious backwardness in the Bishopric, stressed that in Newcastle, aside from allegations of bad governance and misspent municipal funds, there was such malice among the people that 'those who with ther wyves & familis have ever orderly frequented the church & receaved the sacrament, are yet traduced as men dangerous & unfit for government'.[308] Citizens with Puritan inclinations were perceived by the cartel as too radical and unfit to sustain the town's social and economic harmony. On the other hand, William James agreed with Henry Sanderson and Lionel Maddison, the leaders of the complainants, that it was precisely those responsible for impoverishing the town and filling their private coffers, the grand lessees, whose religious attitudes were unsound, although they were not, like so many others in the surrounding country, openly embracing recusancy.

[306] Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, vol. 1, p. 515. For challenges of Hostmen privileges after 1600 see Nef, *The Rise*, vol. 2, pp. 128–31; Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, vol. 1, pp. 518–25.
[307] BL, Lansdowne MS. 66/86; TNA, SP 12/263, fols. 99^{r}–102^{v}; cf. Welford, *The History of Newcastle*, vol. 3, pp. 112–23.
[308] TNA, SP 12/262, fol. 18^{r}; SP 12/268, fol. 91^{r}–92^{v}.

Nevertheless, the divide between the grand lessees and the complaining citizens, or the reformers as the latter called themselves, was not formed so plainly along confessional lines.[309] Lionel Maddison and the active priest-hunter Henry Sanderson, who received vigorous support from Bishop Tobie Matthew, do stand out as staunchly Puritan parties among the complainants, but although William Selby, William Hodgson, William Jenison, and Nicholas Hedley are specifically mentioned as 'popishly and evill affected', other chief defendants, namely Thomas Liddell, Henry Chapman, and Henry Anderson, are not.[310] Aside from the fact that Catholic identity is notoriously difficult to pin down without individuals' records of religious or non-conforming practices, it would be misleading to perceive any confessional community as uniform and simply sustained through familial ties.[311] In social relationships there was always room for accommodation, peaceful coexistence, cross-confessional friendship or business transaction, family disagreement, and ultimately conversion.

Although Rosamund Oates' analysis of the politics of religious conformity among the members of Newcastle town council is accurate, her approach is facile when identifying secret Catholics among the aldermen.[312] For example, Henry Anderson's friendship with William Selby and other Newcastle Catholics should not be used as unequivocal evidence for his religious inclinations. In 1575, during Anderson's mayoralty and the last attempt of the council to annex the borough of Gateshead to Newcastle, Sir William Fleetwood, advisor to Bishop Pilkington, wrote to Lord Treasurer Burghley, pointing out that '[t]he town of Newcastle are all Papistes, save Anderson, and yet he is so knit in such sorte with the Papistes that, *Aiunt, aiit, negant, negat*'.[313] Although Fleetwood is making a gross generalization in

[309] Cf. Oates, 'Catholicism, Conformity and the Community', pp. 67–71.
[310] TNA, SP 12/263, fol. 99^{r}, 101^{v}. Cf. Talbot, *Miscellanea*, pp. 60–61.
[311] Cf. Newton, *North-East England*, pp. 139–42.
[312] See Oates, 'Catholicism, Conformity and the Community', pp. 67–71.
[313] Quoted in Newton, *North-East England*, p. 129.

order to support his point that Gateshead people are, in contrast to Newcastle burgesses, good Protestants, Anderson is nevertheless singled out; he is not counted among the papists, but only accused of appeasement and collaboration. Although decades later, Henry Anderson's son, bearing the same name, assumed a considerably more anti-Catholic stance, Anderson senior's son-in-law, Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth, displayed similarly accommodating attitudes, particularly in 1625, when as a mayor he refused to spy on his Catholic neighbours.[314]

While a number of influential citizens supported, or quietly tolerated, the Catholic community, Newcastle as a city demonstrably fought Catholicism during the last decade of the sixteenth century. It was a place of execution for two seminary priests: Joseph Lambton in 1592 and Edward Waterson in 1594.[315] Moreover, the persecution of priests was not only in the hands of extremists, such as Henry Sanderson, who worked under the auspices of the President of the Council of the North, the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Bishop of Durham, Tobie Matthew. Among those employed by the town to manage the punishment of seminarists we also find William Selby's son George, who was at least considered a friend of Catholics if not an open Catholic himself, although later Sir Henry Anderson disparaged him as a cynic, 'of the Religion *tha*t K*ing* is of whatsoever that be'.[316] An entry in Newcastle corporation accounts from September 1593 records a payment of 20s to 'Mr. George Selbies 2 men for their paines taken in apprehending Edward Waterson for a seminar preiste who was lately executid'.[317]

In 1601, George Selby again acted diligently, and in his capacity as mayor intercepted a letter from Abbeville, France, written by an English seminary priest and

[314] For details see chapter 2.
[315] Newton, *North-East England*, p. 129; M. A. Richardson, *Reprints of Rare Tracts and Imprints of Antient Manuscripts, etc.*, vol. 3 (Newcastle: Richardson, 1849), pp. 24–25, 30–31.
[316] TNA, SP 14/86, fol. 221^{v}.
[317] Richardson, *Reprints of Rare Tracts*, vol. 3, p. 27.

addressed to William Claxton, a servant of the young William Jenison, a Newcastle Hostman. Claxton and the anonymous priest seemed to have been involved in the business of importing illegal Catholic merchandise. Selby considered the letter to be of some importance and 'so suspicious, as was verie meete should be presented' to the Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, who indeed received it together with the examinations of the involved parties.[318] If Selby was indeed a crypto-Catholic – and he certainly was perceived as one fifteen years later – his Erastian Catholicism and official duty would nevertheless on occasion push him towards persecution of fellow co-religionists.

In the late Elizabethan period, the politics of religious conformity in Newcastle were distinct from those in the surrounding country, particularly in County Durham. If Catholic aldermen in the city embraced conformity and moderate politics in order to advance their economic interests and considered it 'a viable way of protecting the local Catholic community', the gentry of the Neville circle in County Durham 'rejected any possibility of religious conformity'.[319] In County Durham, the counter-reformation zeal brought by the missionary priests merged with entrenched political opposition to the Elizabethan regime, resulting in recusancy among the friends of the attainted Earl of Westmorland.[320] In contrast, instead of finding themselves marginalized by the Elizabethan government, the Newcastle aldermen financially benefitted from conforming and adapting to new political realities.

Yet with the accession of James I, the religious dynamics in the North-East changed and became more complicated than the simple bipolar scheme of conforming townsmen and defiant landed gentry. By the end of the sixteenth century, it was already clear that at least in the North the mechanisms of enforcing conformity had backfired, since many of the church-attending Catholic gentry were not brought to *real* conformity, but only to 'hipocriticall

[318] TNA, SP 12/279, fol. 104$^{r–v}$; see SP 12/279, fol. 105$^{r–v}$; SP 12/279, fol. 107^{r}; SP 12/279, fols. 107^{v}–108^{v}; SP 12/279, fol. 109$^{r–v}$.
[319] Oates, 'Catholicism, Conformity and the Community', p. 55.
[320] Ibid., 63–67.

submission' extorted 'by the feare of death'.[321] Enforcing and monitoring church attendance were of course not sufficient means to procure eradication of papistry, for, as Bishop Tobie Matthew complained to Lord Burghley in 1597, '[w]hat inveterate papist will forbeare to receaue Preist[*e*s] or Jesuit*e*s, yf to come to Church pro forma, maie serue the tourne? What Preist*e*s or Jesuit*e*s will forbeare to land in this Realme, yf they maye liue in hope to be receaued?'[322] One crucial force that shaped and stimulated such conforming practices among the northern gentry was the ever more likely succession of the Scottish King James VI, who, as a son of the Catholic Mary Stuart, was perceived by the Neville circle as in favour of a change in religion in England or at least in favour of toleration and political rehabilitation of Catholics.[323] Therefore, the issue of pretended conformity so straightforwardly articulated by Bishop Matthew in 1597 became, at least temporarily, widespread throughout the diocese after James I's succession and was no longer predominantly confined to Newcastle.

Although in part inevitably inconclusive, Eric Clavering's discussion of Newcastle's early seventeenth-century confessional networks in relation to the coal trade deserves more attention, not least because it endeavours to articulate its complexities. Far from establishing a homogenous elite, Clavering identifies at least three socio-economic groups, which are for the sake of convenience labelled as Catholic, pro-Establishment, and Puritan, although he is careful not to imagine them as ideologically rigid and closed, but fluid and open.[324] The core of the Catholic group consisted of the members of the Selby, Tempest, Riddell, Lawson, and Hodgson families; the pro-Establishment families were Anderson, Chapman, and Liddell of Ravensworth; and the smallest, Puritan camp mainly consisted of Bonner and Maddison aldermen.[325] While it is crucial to acknowledge the existence and significance of these

[321] TNA, SP 59/34, fol. 262[r].
[322] Ibid.
[323] See Questier, 'The Politics of Religious Conformity'.
[324] Eric Clavering, 'Catholics in Early Seventeenth-Century Tyne Coal: A Re-Assessment', *Northern Catholic History*, 22 (1985), 13–23 (p. 14).
[325] Ibid., pp. 14–18.

networks, their ideological differences should not be over-emphasized. All the members of the above-mentioned families were Hostmen and their struggle as Newcastle freemen in upholding privileges against any outsiders' encroachment united them. Generally speaking, economic interests and corporate allegiances prevailed over religious disagreements and even sustained widespread church-papistry among the citizens.

However, as the seventeenth century progressed and Catholic dominance in the coal trade waned, religious tensions increased and Tyneside Catholics were more likely to shift into recusancy. Already in August 1615, William James, now Bishop of Durham, was alarmed by the unprecedented 'flocking*e*s of Priest*e*s […] in Newcastle, a Haven, & walled Towne, wherein there was w*i*thin thes fewe yeares not one Recusant'.[326] Bishop James was careful to associate the rise of recusancy with the missionary activity of the seminary priests; nor did he misrepresent all papists as recusants. However, the new recusants the bishop had in mind were the poorer sort, not primarily the church-papist aldermen, who were more likely to display open non-conformity during the 1620s and 1630s, when the Catholic coal business was in crisis and central government became more tolerant of recusancy.[327] During the Civil War, the overwhelming number of royalists among the leading coal-owning families hastened both the decline of the authority of Hostmen and the Catholic control over the coal trade.[328] As Clavering has shown, the crisis of the Catholic coal trade in Newcastle was not inevitable. Industry was stable in the 1620s and 1630s; Catholic owners even invested in building expensive wooden waggonways to transport coal from Whickham pits to the river. The 1636 Ship Tax returns show no decline in the Tyneside coal industry, half of which was in Catholic hands.[329] Nevertheless, by the mid-seventeenth century, the Selbys were financially ruined,

[326] TNA, SP 14/81, fol. 92[r].
[327] James, *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society*, pp. 142–43; Hilton, 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham'. Bishop James demonstrates the obstinacy of the poor papist by referring to the case of a recusant dancer, which is discussed in detail in the previous chapter.
[328] Hatcher, *The History of the British Coal*, vol. 1, p. 527.
[329] Clavering, 'Catholics in Early Seventeenth-Century Tyne Coal', p. 22.

the Hodgsons of Hebburn extinct, and Catholics no longer controlled Whickham. The Stella colliery of the Tempest family remained the only 'stronghold of Catholic coal activity on the Tyne's south shore'.[330]

3.4 The King's Host

We can now safely conclude that in April/May 1617 King James was not only hosted by the town of Newcastle, but equally, or even more so, by the Company of Hostmen, and by extension the Merchant Adventurers, whose members controlled the town council and the most lucrative trade in the region. Moreover, at least one third of the city's coal-trading elite was conservative in their religious outlook and could very well be labelled crypto-Catholic. Due to their economic interests and moderate religious views, they were willing to outwardly conform and stress their loyalism to the king. Mayor Thomas Riddell and Alderman George Selby, two chief representatives of the town council during James I's visit, belonged to this faction.

Sir Thomas Riddell of Gateshead was a son of William Riddell, a founder member of the Hostmen's Company.[331] In 1597 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Conyers of Sockburn, County Durham, who was a staunch Catholic and, from 1615, a convicted recusant. Although Riddell's name appeared on the list of Catholic officeholders, which was compiled by the anti-Spanish MPs and presented to the king during the 1624 Parliament, his wife's recusancy did not particularly hinder Riddell's career in Newcastle. Like Selby, Riddell was ambitious and devoted to King James. He was knighted on 25 April 1616, which provoked a snarky remark from his co-religionist Thomas Chaytor, who at the time wrote in

[330] Clavering, 'Catholics and the Rise', p. 19.
[331] Details of Riddell's biography are summarized from Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604–1629*, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); and Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. 3, pp. 305–09.

his diary: 'Th*omas* Riddell knighted this Moneth. Aprill. The price of gaining knightship is att 300 capiat qui vult [grab it who is willing]'.[332] Just before being elected mayor at Michaelmas 1616, William Morton, a sworn enemy of the north-eastern Catholics, gave a relatively mild and balanced judgement of Riddell in his undercover letter to Secretary Winwood: 'Thomas Riddel brought vp as a lawier, a ciuil man honest & iust: but his wife is a recusant, & hee their counceler & abettor vnderhand'.[333] Riddell was a shrewed politician and businessman, mindful of mitigating the impact his familly's religion might have on his career and their wellbeing.

Although the mayor during James I's visit was Sir Thomas Riddell, it was Sir George Selby, the son of the original grand lessee and one of the leading and wealthiest citizens at the time, who exercised the role of royal host. Selby was thereafter remembered by the appellation 'the king's host', an honour later carved onto his tomb, which in December 1624, four months before his death, was 'alredie erected' in the parish church of St. Nicholas.[334]

George Selby was worthy of the honour and certainly capable of bearing the expense. Knighted at James I's coronation in 1603, staunchly royalist, exceptionally wealthy, and with a taste for luxuriant lifestyle, Selby could hardly have been a more appropriate host for the king. By 1617, he had already been elected MP for Newcastle twice (1601 and 1604) and accumulated an impressive amount of local offices: he had been a Mayor of Newcastle three times (1600-1, 1606-7, 1611-12), and Sheriff of Newcastle (1594–5) and Northumberland (1607–8), after which Bishop James had immediately appointed him Sheriff of Durham, an office which he exercised until his death and which prevented him from running as MP for

[332] PGL, ADD.MS, 866, fol. 46^{v}.
[333] TNA, SP 14/88, fol. 149^{r}.
[334] PGL, DPR/I/1/1625/S4/1; Welford, *The History of Newcastle*, vol. 3, pp. 266–67.

Northumberland in 1614.[335] George Selby's ancestors were successful Newcastle merchants, but their fortunes were substantially advanced only by the family's engagement in establishing and defending the Hostmen's coal-trade concession and general control over Tyneside coal production. Alongside a more experienced and senior alderman, Henry Chapman, George Selby himself worked to secure and defend the Hostmen's charter as an MP for Newcastle during the 1604–1610 Parliament.[336]

George Selby married above his degree: his bride Margaret was daughter of Sir John Selby of Twizell. Their six surviving daughters were married into both Protestant and Catholic families, such as the Northumberland Delavals of Seaton Delaval and the Curwens of Workington in Cumberland.[337] As was the case for the majority of the north-eastern landed gentry and urban elites, Selby's dynastic policy was mainly shaped by socio-economic reasons, which took precedent over confessional considerations.[338] Moreover, Selby deliberately avoided religious controversy and fashioned his public persona along the lines of Erastian royalism, which was not too unlike the conformity adopted by the pro-Stuart circles of the North-Eastern Catholic gentry.[339] And yet, in spite of his steadfast loyalism to King James and outward religious cynicism, George Selby had acquired a reputation for being one of the principal sources of Catholic patronage in Newcastle.

In September 1616, writing under the pseudonym of Zeth Beridge, Archdeacon William Morton informed Secretary Winwood in great detail of the state of religious and civil government in Newcastle and the Bishopric. He mentioned Sir George Selby as the first of the Newcastle aldermen and describes him as 'a bountiful housekeeper & frolicki', who 'giues

[335] Shrievalty of Durham was not a yearly but permanent office. If not otherwise stated, details of Selby's life and career are taken from Thrush and Ferris, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604–1629*; and Welford, *Men of Mark*, vol. 3, pp. 373–77.
[336] Nef, *The Rise*, vol. 2, p. 128.
[337] See the pedigree of the Selbys of Winlaton in Surtees, *The History of Antiquities*, vol. 2.
[338] Newton, 'Borders and Bishopric', pp. 49–70, 66–67; see also Newton, *North-East England*, pp. 25–31.
[339] Cf. Clavering, 'Catholics in Early Seventeenth-Century Tyne Coal', p. 15.

manie giftes to diuers & is in thees partes hee that hath dun most for recusants whose hee is underhand both boddie & soul'.[340] Although very little can be unequivocally concluded about George Selby's character, his generosity, taste for luxury, and support for the recusants, whose beliefs he allegedly shared, emerge from the sources as his fundamental personal traits.

In the same letter, Beridge alias Morton ruthlessly attacks Bishop William James, accusing him of insatiable covetousness, corruption, and mismanagement. The Bishop's corruption and impotence could be better perceived, claimed Morton, through the kinds of officers he employed, who were all 'bent that waie his Sherif is [,] S*i*r George Selbee [,] who is al for recusantes'.[341] A few months earlier, when Morton was involved in renewing the case against the notorious Northumberland Catholic Roger Widdrington of Cartington for his suspected involvement in the Gunpowder Plot, the archdeacon recounted how his efforts to apprehend Widdrington immediately after the plot in 1605 had been thwarted by Selby:

> […] then turned I all my forces again[st] Roger but all in vaine for complaining to my Lord of Dunbare of him his Eyes being then not opened and *tha*t in *th*e presence of S*i*r George Selbie whoe noe sooner heard it but relaited it to Roger Witherington and he to S*i*r Robert Cecill wherevppon a stope was made that I could not bee admitted to the Councell bord nor haue any hope of preuailing against that not Man but Monster.

It was only after Selby kindly tipped off his friend Widdrington that the latter's court connections could procure an immediate termination of Morton's dangerous investigation. Selby's influence was clearly not confined only to the city, but stretched throughout the North-East, particularly through his familial ties and management of shrievalties.

[340] TNA, SP 14/88, fol. 149^{r}.
[341] Ibid., fol. 150^{v}.

Selby's sumptuous tomb, bearing the effigies of himself and his wife resting on the top and his six daughters kneeling in prayer on the side, had been erected in the east end of St. Nicholas' church in Newcastle until it was demolished in the late eighteenth century. It had been accompanied by a long Latin inscription above the tomb, which had not only celebrated the hospitality he offered to King James and the good fortunes of the family, but also commemorated Selby's fame on account of his 'splendid and ever-abounding style of living, and the dispensing of a most liberal table' [Ob Lautum certe & affluentem perpetuo apparatum, & Liberalissimae Mensae]'.[342] Keeping an open and charitable household, particularly around Christmas, was a traditional virtue of the landed gentry, which somewhat declined in post-Reformation England and had to be vigorously defended by King James through official speeches and proclamations.[343] Although Selby's inscription is not in any way unique in celebrating the charity and hospitality of the deceased – stressing individual virtues, particularly generosity to one's neighbours, was an increasingly common epitaph convention from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards – we can nevertheless conclude that it reflects and perpetuates a particular memory of him within the local community.[344] It recognizes and monumentalizes 'the king's host's' deep affinity for King James' cultural policies.

Declining charity and Christmas hospitality were bitterly lamented in Catholic circles.[345] In the anonymous manuscript collection of Jacobean Catholic ballads held at the British Library, *A Song of the Puritan* articulates a strong, festive traditionalist's agenda with regard to hospitality:

[342] Welford, *The History of Newcastle*, vol. 3, p. 266; Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Graham, 1736), p. 62.
[343] Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 117–20; Hutton, *The Rise and Fall*, pp. 177–80.
[344] David Hickman, 'Wise and Religious Epitaphs: Funerary Inscription as Evidence for Religious Change in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, c. 1500–1640', *Midland History*, 26/1 (2001), 107–27 (pp. 113–14).
[345] Cf. Jensen, '"Honest mirth & merriment".

In those good daies liued hospitalitie;

Men hoarded not, nor did they hyde their pelfe;

Then liuèd resident kind Charitie,

And then plaine dealing bouldlie show'd himselfe;

The blacke Jacke [a leather jar] vs'd, – noe pewter nor noe canne, –

Nor men neare heard of anie *Puritanne*.[346]

George Selby's generosity may be implying that he was, as a civic official, defying the proverbial poor hospitality of townsmen, even though his standing was hardly that of a conventional citizen.[347] Married into Northumberland gentry and owner of the greater part of Winlaton manor, Selby moved seamlessly between County Durham, Newcastle, and Northumberland, between the comfortable society of landed gentry and shrewd industrious businessmen of the city. But it is certainly not a coincidence that the Puritan William Morton juxtaposes Selby's generosity, hospitality, and festive traditionalism with his support for recusants and alleged crypto-Catholicism. Although Selby's munificence and cheerful nature invited the archdeacon's criticism, it would have generated respectability and trust with the King, who himself enjoyed keeping a bounteous household.[348]

In fact, James I's progress to Scotland was in many ways marked by his defence of the old festivities and pastimes, which culminated in *The King's Declaration Concerning Lawful Sports*. In August 1617, on his way back from Scotland, James issued the *Declaration* for Lancashire only, after having been petitioned by local festive traditionalists to grant them

[346] Hyder E. Rollins (ed.), *Old English Ballads, 1553–1625: Chiefly from Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), p. 134; original in BL, Add. MS 15225, fol. 30.
[347] On civic hospitality see Heal, *Hospitality*, pp. 300–01.
[348] On James' extravagance see Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts*, pp. 31–34.

permission for practising Sunday sports and pastimes in defiance of Puritan sabbatarianism.[349] It was no coincidence that the royal entertainment at Houghton Tower included a rushbearing ceremony and country dancing.[350] King James was a proponent of traditional culture, which became an important battleground against the political and cultural influence of radical Protestantism.

Although the evidence of ceremonies and merriments attended by the king in Newcastle is fragmentary, chamberlain's account nevertheless offers some suggestive evidence. We know that the city thoroughly prepared for the king's visit. The council built a barge for the king ('Paied ffor Carringe of 12 dayles [dils] to the Sawnige ffor the kinges Barge viijd'); streets were decorated and tidied ('Paied ffor xl Buntines ffor Railles to the Sand Hill xxvjs viijd'; 'Paied ffor Castinge vpp of xx Chs of ballest at the windowes to spred the streat withall at the kinges beinge heare xiijs'); railing and scaffolding contructed ('Paied to Roberte Riddell for Lx dayles xij bauckes and xiiij buntines dd[dono dedit] to George Thompson wrighte for the Townnes vse iijli xvs'; 'Paied to George Thompson wright for dayles and spares and other worke for the Townn at the kinges Coming hither as by his billes appeares iiijli xjs vjd'); moreover, king's arms were re-cut and set up on Tyne Bridge, and the king's picture made, publicly displayed, and prudently guarded ('Paied for Tackinge vp of the kinges pickter ijs vjd'; 'Paied to Roberte Grante for Bringinge downne of the kinges pickter and other Bussines for the Townn Ls'; 'Payed ffor watchinge of the kinges pickter vjs'; 'Paied in parte of paymente of a more Sume for the kinges pickter and his Armes as by bill shall appeare xxxli viijs vjd'; 'Paied ffor the Charges of the Tacking vpp of kinges pickter and the kinges Armes and ffor time at the New howse on the bridge vjs vjd'; 'Paied to the Cutteres of

[349] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, pp. 397–400. More details on *The Book of Sports* can be found in the previous chapter. The Lancashire *Declaration* is reproduced in *REED: Lancashire*, pp. 229–31.
[350] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3, p. 400.

Stonne wch maiore gaue them in Reward xls'; 'Paied for Reparing and Cuttinge of the kinges Armes on the bridge and settinge them vp iiili').[351]

And yet there is no trace of any extraordinary payments to musicians, players, or playwrights, nor can we find any recorded expenses towards the gifts, which the town, according to Brand, granted to the visiting monarch. The expenses which would have been recorded by the chamberlain beyond the second week of July 1617 are simply missing. My suspicion is that even if we had the account book for 1617 in its entirety, the information we are looking for would probably not have been recorded in it in the first place. In the end-of-the-year financial report, the chamberlain noted that during the mayoralty of Thomas Riddell, approximately one eight of the city's yearly budget, namely 500 pounds, was given to two aldermen, Sir George Selby and Thomas Liddell,

> for the vse of the Townn by Order of Common Counsell ther is Lickwise and Accoumpte giuen by Sir Thomas Riddell Maior to the Common Counsell by A Order dated the 29 July 1617 how this v^{C} poundes was disbursed as doth by the Accountes mor Larglie appeare and ther is paied of this v^{C} poundes = ij^{C} pound to m^{r} Liddell and so ther is Restinge to Sir George Selby iij$^{C\ li}$[352]

The account and the two orders mentioned in the note are no longer extant. However, it seems reasonable to assume that it was precisely this pot of money which would have been used towards covering the expenses for gifts, entertainment, and maintenance of the king and his retinue. The exact role of Thomas Liddell during the visit is unknown. But George Selby, as we know, acted as the official king's host.

[351] TWA, MD.NC/FN/1/1/10, fols. 305^{v}–310^{v}.
[352] Ibid., fol. 263^{r}.

On the day of king's entry into Newcastle, the Earl of Buckingham wrote to Lord Keeper Bacon, stressing that 'his Majesty, God be thanked, is in very good health, and so well pleased with his Journey, that I never saw him better, nor merrier'.[353] By accommodating the King in his Newcastle mansion, Selby's duty was to sustain this excellent momentum and keep the sovereign in good health and humour for the next twelve days. Judging by his reputation, Selby would have had no difficulty playing the master of the revels and making the royal visit a success, both for himself and the town. Brewer's *The Lovesick King* might have been produced under his supervision. Whether or not that was the case, the audience would inevitably have drawn comparisons between Roger Thornton, the play's bountiful host of Prince Alured, and the real king's host, George Selby.

3.5 The Language of Union

The Lovesick King is saturated with Jacobean political paradigms and rhetorical conventions: the language of love and union, peace-making, internationalism, divinely ordained kingship, and the virtues of bounteousness and mercy.[354] The character of Alured, the future English king, is carefully constructed to fit the mould of an ideal monarch, which James had set forth in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and *Basilicon Doron* (1603), a manual on kingship dedicated to Prince Henry which was widely disseminated in print just around James' succession.[355] In 1617, both treatises would have been freshly reprinted in the collected

[353] Nichols, *The Progresses*, vol. 3,, pp. 280–81.
[354] Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 204–11. For James' own articulation of the theory of kingship and its policies see Johann P. Sommerville (ed.), *King James VI and I: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); for the general overview of the culture and iconography of the Jacobean court see Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restored: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 1–63.
[355] Cf. Sommerville, *Political Writings*, pp. 268–69; for James' international peace-making policy see William B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Workes of 1616.[356] Alured's exceptional integrity is even more obvious when contrasted with the actions of Canutus, a capricious and usurping tyrant. Alured and Canutus fundamentally represent James' belief that a good king, i.e. Alured, thinks 'himself ordained for his people', whereas the tyrant, i.e. Canutus, 'thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites'.[357]

What is immediately striking about *The Lovesick King*, without probing too deep into the play's action and imagery, is that it provides an aetiological narrative for contemporary British identity and political reality. Although in itself such uses of history were commonplace, Brewer's play is unusual in drawing upon the Anglo-Saxon period to celebrate the Stuart monarchy, which continued to rely on a Tudor mythological nexus of Britain-Roman-Constantine traditions to construct its imperial past.[358] By retelling the history of Alfred (Alured) the Great (849–899), who successfully challenged the Danish occupation and is remembered as the first great unifier of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Brewer simultaneously and proleptically celebrates James' (re)unification of Britain and its alliance with the kingdom of Denmark.[359] Alured, a name which according to Richard Verstegan's etymology signified 'all-peace',[360] had become not only a model, but an allegory of King James, the peace-loving king, whose personal motto was *beati pacifici*.[361]

After escaping from Danish captivity, Alured only reappears on stage at the beginning of act IV in the company of the Scottish king, with whom he had 'together march'd,

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[356] See *The workes of the most high and mightie Prince, Iames, by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c* (London: Barker and Bill, 1616).
[357] *Basilicon Doron*, in Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 20.
[358] At the time, this choice alone would have been controversial and could indicate the play's Catholic bias, see Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 108–17; Donna B. Hamilton, 'Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605): A Catholic Antiquarian Replies to John Foxe, Thomas Cooper, and Jean Bodin', *Prose Studies* 22/1 (1999), 1–39 (pp. 9–10). In the subsequent chapter I expand on this issue and discuss potential influence of Richard Verstegan's writings on Brewer.
[359] Brewer's source on Alfred/Alured was John Speed, *The History of Great Britain* (London: Hall and Beale, 1611), pp. 356–59. Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 174–75.
[360] See *A Restitution of decayed intelligence* (1605), which provides detailed etymologies of the old Anglo-Saxon names: 'Alfred or Alvred is as much to say, as, *All-peace*' (p. 246).
[361] On James' self-fashioning as peacemaker see Parry, *The Golden Age Restored*, pp. 21–29.

/ And from the North parts quite disperst the Danes'.[362] But the military alliance is only a part of the much deeper Anglo-Scottish relationship implied by the plot. After the Danes are defeated, Alured is crowned by King Donald himself and the play concludes with an unequivocal endorsement of James' Unionist policy. Alured's concluding speech on the marriage of the two countries, which 'The Sea […] binds […] in one Continent / […] To strengthen both 'gainst all invasion',[363] is clearly taken from James' play-book, and echoes the King's speech made to Parliament in March 1604:

> Hath not God first vnited these two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and similitude of maners? Yea, hath hee not made vs all in one Island, compassed with one Sea […] being intrenched and fortified round about with a natural, and yet admirable strong pond or ditch, whereby all the former feares of this Nation are now quite cut off.[364]

In James' speech, the union of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms becomes a historical precedent for the new Anglo-Scottish Union.[365] But the political achievements of Brewer's Alured stretch beyond the confines of history and its instructive *exempla*. In *The Lovesick King*, England, as a union of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, is never questioned or constructed, but already exists as a self-evident political entity. The only union in the making is the Union of Great Britain. In this way, *The Lovesick King* not only acknowledges the ideological correlation between the two political amalgamations, but actually enacts and expands James' rhetorical narrative by anachronistically fashioning Alured as a ninth-century procurer of the seventeenth-century Anglo-Scottish Union.

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[362] *The Lovesick King*, IV.i.2–3.
[363] Ibid., V.ii.127–29.
[364] Sommerville, *Political Writings*, pp. 135–36.
[365] Ibid., pp. 135–37.

Equally important is the intricate love-hate relationship between the Danes and the English. Although the strife between the two nations ends with a humiliating defeat of Canutus' army, Alured is merciful and respectful towards the Danish king and desires a amicable relationship between the communities. Such a reconciliatory ending, which would have been desirable to the play's patrons, so as to reflect and celebrate the contemporary political reality – Canutus was a historical ancestor of Christian IV of Denmark, brother of Anne, King James's wife[366] – is chiefly possible for two reasons. First, Canutus undergoes a final transformation: after losing Cartesmunda, he does not simply lapse back into mindless brutality but is instead consumed by grief, which generates pity. Secondly, the plot imagines Alured's passionate if short-lived courtship of Elgina, Canutus' sister, who is tragically killed early in the play by the jealous Danish courtier Erkinwald. Elgina, who '[a]lthough descended of the Danish blood' considers herself 'an English Princess', is clearly fashioned as a compliment to Queen Anne and acts as a moral contrast to the English nun Cartesmunda.[367] It is precisely Elgina's virtue and Alured's love for the Princess which together encourage the new king of England to be exceptionally merciful with Canutus:

Canutus: Ile have no Ransom, Cartesmunda's dead,
Let me be buried with her, that's all the mercy
I now will beg of thee from all thy Conquests.
Alured: No, great Canutus, for I pitty thee,
I call to mind thy Royal Sisters love,
Beauteous Elgina, worthier then thy Nun,

[366] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 200.
[367] *The Lovesick King*, I. iii. 244–47. Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 199–200.

Whose loving heart was once unbosom'd here,

And for her sake, Ile like a brother use thee,

[…]

You shall return unto your State in Denmark,

And henceforth even as brothers wee will live,

Exchanging Embassies of Love and Honor.[368]

The human side of Canutus is revealed and, indeed, a degree of 'dramatic sympathy', as Martin indicates, is established between the defeated Danish king and merciful Alured: both have fallen victims to love's cruelty, although in morally contrasting contexts.[369] Whereas Canutus' love for Cartesmunda is framed by lust, perjury, idolatry, and utter neglect of the matters of state, Alured's response to the enticements of the 'pure, unspotted Maid' Elgina is perceived as socially and ideologically desirable and never obstructs his duty as a sovereign, but rather enables him to escape Winchester and resume his fight against the invading Danes.[370] Moreover, the Platonic love affair between Alured and Elgina is ultimately sublimated into politically productive brotherly love between the two nations.

The Lovesick King fashions chaste love in opposition to ideals of virginity and lust, extremes which both constitute Cartesmunda's sexuality, in order to comment and differentiate between two opposing models of kingship. Inspired by James' political theory, Brewer establishes the division between a 'good king' and a 'tyrant', but only through what would have been by 1617 a firmly established Jacobean language of union, which early in James' reign constituted itself in the opposition to the Elizabethan political imagination which

[368] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii. 66–78. Cf. Dodds, '*Edmond Ironside*', p. 165.
[369] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 209.
[370] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.157.

celebrated virginity.[371] And yet, no matter how antagonistic and destructive, all the various modulations of human love represented in *The Lovesick King* lead the course of English history towards the final providential moment of reconciliation and peace, a precursor and precedent for the golden age restored during the reign of James VI and I.

In order to successfully construct the play around Jacobean political ideals, Brewer needed to set its plot against the background of Renaissance Neoplatonism, whose intellectual patterns had already been employed in early Jacobean court masques to support the king's policy, particularly by the works of Ben Jonson.[372] In fifteenth-century Italy, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola and other thinkers associated with the Florentine Academy merged the ideas of Plato's newly-accessible writings, Neoplatonism of late antiquity, and Christian theology, particularly scholasticism, to form a philosophico-theological movement which profoundly influenced early modern European art and literature. Following Plato's *Symposium*, the syncretic thought of Florentine Platonists constructed love as a *daemonic* spiritual force which enabled individuals to ascend along the ontological hierarchy of the cosmos towards the ineffable One, the unity of God.[373] 'The aim of Ficino's doctrine of divine love was to teach man to feel his affinity with God', since only 'by looking towards the

[371] See Kevin Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics at the Jacobean Court* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 17–56; Martin Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 91–124. Bibliography on the various aspects of the cult of Elizabeth I is substantial; see especially Elkin Calhoun Wilson, *England's Eliza* (London: Cass, 1966 [1939]); Frances A. Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947), 27–82; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987); Peter McClure and Robin Headlam Wells, 'Elizabeth I as a Second Virgin Mary', *Renaissance Studies*, 4/1 (1990), 38–70; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Macmillan, 1995); Stephen Hamrick, *The Catholic Imaginary and the Cults of Elizabeth, 1558–1582* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[372] On the Neoplatonism and the issue of Union see D. J. Gordon, 'The Imagery of Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blacknesse* and *The Masque of Beautie*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 122–41; D. J. Gordon, '*Hymenaei*: Ben Jonson's Masque of Union', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 8 (1945), 107–45; Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics*, pp. 17–56; for a general discussion of Platonic ideas and iconography in Stuart court masques see Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 1–75.

[373] See Ficino's influential commentaries on Plato's *Symposium*, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*, trans. by Jayne Sears Reynolds (Dallas: Spring, 1985); Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), pp. 57–89; Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 131–32.

Beyond as the true goal of ecstasy can man become balanced in the present'.[374] The medieval exegesis of biblical texts, such as the *Song of Songs* and the first epistle of John, which twice asserts that 'God is Love' (1 John 4, 7–21), helped in the domestication of classical philosophy.[375] However, Neoplatonic ideas were late to take root in England, their popularity only beginning to grow in the seventeenth century; they reached the height of fashion and cultural significance at the court of Charles I and Henrietta Maria.[376]

Jonson's *Hymenaei* is rich in Neoplatonic patterns. The world's unity in love is most strikingly embodied by Juno, the goddess of marriage, who as an anagrammatic *Unio* presides over the marriage ceremony and represents the idea of cosmic union.[377] Love as a binding force of the universe is furthermore elucidated by the human chain formed during the central dance of the masque, which was performed by eight female masquers, who represented the powers of marriage, and eight male masquers representing human Affections and Humours, which Reason, commenting on the performance, likened to the golden chain of being.[378]

In a poem first published in 1601 in Robert Chester's compilation *Love's Martyr*, initially entitled 'Epos', but reprinted in the 1616 folio as 'Epode', Jonson unequivocally equates the golden chain with chaste, Platonic love, which is invoked as an opposition to the lustful 'blind desire':

> […] Now, true Love […]
>
> That is an essence, far more gentle, fine,
>
> Pure, perfect, nay, divine;

[374] Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1968), p. 48.
[375] See Catherine Osborne, *Eros Unveiled: Plato and the God of Love* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 24–51.
[376] Jane Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 18–19, 163–85; Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender*, pp. 133–34.
[377] *Hymenaei*, 200–01.
[378] Ibid., 275–87. Cf. Gordon, '*Hymenaei*', p. 119.

It is a golden chain let down from heaven,

Whose links are bright, and even;

That falls like sleep on lovers, and combines

The soft and sweetest minds

In equal knots: this bears no brands nor darts

To murder different hearts,

But in a calm and god-like unity

Preserves community.[379]

Love is divine, it originates in God – in the case of Jonson's *Hymenaei*, the ineffable origin of love was represented by 'the sphere of fire […] crowned with a statue of Jupiter the Thunderer', which towered above the whole spectacle[380] – but it simultaneously also permeates the whole of creation and sustains communities in 'god-like unity'. In his influential philosophical compendium *The French Academie*, Pierre de la Primaudaye, who may have had a direct influence on Jonson's imagination, offers a more discursive but essentially the same Neoplatonic vision of the ordered Christian universe by claiming that

> the first motion, whereupon all the rest depend, is the loue of God, which proceedeth from his bounty, which he would not keepe shut vp nor enclosed in himself, but would manifest and communicate it with his creatures, whom he hath created, to the end that he might be glorified in them and by them. […] he set in them the seeds of loue, both towards him and towards themselues, according to the diuers nature, which he hath conferred vpon them. […] Whereupon we may conclude, that loue

[379] *The Forest*, 11.37–53.
[380] *Hymenaei*, 574–79.

> and amitie is the good, by which all creatures haue an accord and agreement, first with God their creator, and then one with another […] Wherefore loue must be the bond and vnion of all the world, which is an vniuersall peace and concord betweene God and all his creatures. For the diuine prouidence hath so disposed all the order of them, that they be all conioined one with another by such loue and amitie, that euen they which seeme to be cleane contrary, are allied, reconciled and vnited together by those, which haue more corresppondencie between them. In such sort as we may therein behold, a very pleasant and perfect harmonie, like as in musicke […].[381]

De la Primaudaye's passage reads like a blueprint for *The Lovesick King*. Not only is Brewer's play, in the same way as *Hymenaei*, built around the belief in all-encompassing love, which binds together the micro- and macrocosmos and favourably contextualizes James' political project of the Anglo-Scottish Union; the play also articulates love as an invincible providential force which inevitably reconciles all opposites.

Before Brewer can stage alliance, reconciliation, and unity, he first needs to sow discord and antagonism. Two kinds of romantic love unfold on stage: chaste love, which either ends in marriage or Platonic sublimation, and lustful love. The former, represented mainly by Alured and Elgina, is associated with virtue, reason, piety, spiritual and political union, and good kingship; the latter, represented by Canutus and Cartesmunda, with vice, pleasure, idolatry, destructive lovesickness, and tyranny. The distinction is again rooted in classical sources. In the *Symposium*, Pausanias distinguishes between a Heavenly and Popular Eros, each corresponding to two distinct goddesses of love, Heavenly Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία), daughter of Heaven, and Popular Aphrodite (Ἀφροδίτη Πάνδημος), a child of Zeus

[381] Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The French Academie. Fully Discovrsed and finished in foure Bookes* (London: Adams, 1618), pp. 699–700. The first complete translation of *The French Academy* in English appeared in 1618, but partial editions were being published ever since the 1580s. Cf. Gordon, '*Hymenaei*', pp. 115–16.

and Dione.[382] While common love, which can be either heterosexual or homosexual, is directed by chance and 'set on the body more than the soul', heavenly love, which only occurs among men, is 'untinged with wantonness' and primarily focused on the mind and virtue of the lover.[383] Similar tensions between the 'idealization of love and its degrading, destructive effects', between *caritas* and *cupiditas*, also exist in Petrarch's poetry.[384] During the Reformation, love and Cupid, as its evermore prominent physical manifestation in Petrarchan love poetry, became infused with confessional issues. Virginity and abstinence lost their primacy as ideals of sexual behaviour, only to be surpassed by ideals of chaste marriage, while sexual incontinence was transformed from a venial to an utterly damnable sin, closely associated with idolatry and a destructive worship of Cupid.[385] Although, as Jane Kingsley-Smith explains, poets such as Barnabe Googe clearly used Cupid as a focal point for their anti-Catholic critique of 'religious and poetic idolatry', some, like Sidney and Spenser in *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene* respectively, also deployed Cupid 'as a means of critiquing not only Elizabethan iconophobia but the policy of iconoclasm by which it was expressed'.[386]

Although these legacies, which I will discuss in greater detail later on, continue in *The Lovesick King*, Brewer's treatment of love and Cupid's power is fundamentally Neoplatonic, following the already mentioned opposition found in Jonson's 'Epode' between 'true Love' and 'blind desire'. One could, therefore, imagine Brewer happily contributing his own poetical essay on the subject of turtle and phoenix to *Love's Martyr*, alongside Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman, and Jonson. He does not celebrate those that 'are only continent / Because lust's means are spent / Or those who doubt the common mouth of fame',

[382] *Symposium*, 180D–E.
[383] Ibid., 181B–D.
[384] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 18.
[385] Ibid., pp. 19–20, 24–35. For the link between adultery and idolatry see *The Third Part of the Homily Against Images and the Worshipping of Them*. John Griffiths (ed.), *The Two Books of Homilies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859), pp. 247–50.
[386] Ibid., p. 35. See for example the story of Princess Erona in Sidney's *Arcadia* (pp. 232–36), which Beaumont and Fletcher adapted for stage in *Cupid's Revenge*.

and moreover, 'those whom vows and conscience / Have filled with abstinence'.[387] The chaste love, which Brewer, Jonson, and the rest of *Love's Martyr*'s poets articulate as supreme, is Platonic love, stirred by sensual beauty, but graced with 'love of goodness' and ultimately realized in the eternal mystical union of lovers, the phoenix and the turtle dove.[388] However, for Brewer, this Neoplatonic imagery also carries a strong political message: just as the hearts of chaste lovers are united in the fire of desire, so too will England and Scotland join in one and remain forever lovers. The impresa decorating the verso side of the front page of the pro-unionist pamphlet *Rapta Tatio* (1604) could therefore equally represent the politico-theological ethos of *The Lovesick King*: a heart in flames accompanied by the motto 'Ignibus vnionis ardenS' (burning with the fires of union).[389]

The positive examples of romantic secular love in the play tactfully converge not only to allegorically support the new friendship between England and Denmark, but also to strengthen the love between England and Scotland. The language of love and personal union is harnessed to support the underlying message of political union. It comes as no surprise that it is King James' alter-ego Alured who is the master of the unionist rhetoric. He considers it '[m]ost fit' for the English and the Scots, whom the encircling sea teaches 'to imbrace two hearts in one', to 'be ever lovers'.[390] Moreover, with this new and perfect Union of two nations, the perversions of lustful Canutus and perfidious Cartesmunda are forever purged:

> Alured: Look up Canutus now all's cleer above,
>
> Let Cartesmunda dye in our new love;

[387] *The Forest*, 11.77–84.
[388] Ibid., 11.87–92. Cf. J. V. Cunningham, '"Essence" and *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *English Literary History*, 19/4 (1952), 265–76; David Beauregard, '"The Mutual Flame of Love": Spiritual Marriage in Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and Turtle*', *Religion and the Arts*, 15 (2011), 131–47.
[389] Anonymous, *Rapta Tatio. The Mirrour of his Maiesties present Gouernment, tending to the Vnion of his whole Island of Brittonie* (London, 1604), sig. A1^{v}.
[390] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.126–29.

And let swift fame thy former glories ring,

And hide the folies of a Love-sick King.[391]

Emerging from the lovesick king's incontinence, the Platonic 'new love' manifests itself in two international political alliances: the Anglo-Scottish Union and the new Anglo-Danish amity, shaped by a metaphorical employment of spousal and brotherly love respectively. Significantly, none of these are actually cemented in a real marriage contract performed on stage.[392] It is rather through the death of women – the eradication of perjured Cartesmunda and the eternal preservation of Elgina's chastity – that the homosocial relationships of men are secured. When urging Cartesmunda to remain constant in the face of a Danish attack, the Abbot of St. Swithin's Abbey stresses that true virtue perseveres and 'lasts for ever'.[393] Paradoxically, it is Elgina's purity which endures and not that of Cartesmunda, who is initially too eager to resist temptation. Through death, Elgina's 'Chaste love is born in Heaven, and never dies'; it remains incorruptible, directs Alured beyond the world of the senses, and can eventually be evoked to secure a lasting political bond.[394]

In King James's political writings, the duty of a lawful king towards his subjects is always illustrated by means of fatherly love: as the father is bound by his duty 'to care for the nourishing, education, and virtuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subiects'.[395] Equally, the highly conventional image of the king as head of the body politic justifies both the monarch's paternalism and the existing social hierarchy:[396]

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[391] Ibid., V.ii.130–33.
[392] This does not hold true for Thornton's Newcastle premiership, which is in fact secured through marrying into the urban elite.
[393] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.13.
[394] Ibid., II.ii.152.
[395] *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, in Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 65.
[396] This metaphor, used throughout Europe, was formed in the Middle Ages by conflating Aristotelian political theory and theological concepts, such as *corpus mysticum*, which aimed to articulate the ontology and mystical relationship between Christ's individual body and the Church as a collective. It is a derivative of the theory of the king's two bodies, i.e. the king's natural and finite body and eternal mystical body or body politic (see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton

> The King towards his people is rightly compared to a father of children, and to a head of a body composed of diuers members. […] For from the head, being the seate of Iudgement, proceedeth the care and foresight of guiding, and preuenting all euill that may come to the body or any part thereof. The head cares for the body, so doeth the King for his people.[397]

James inherited this political rhetoric from Elizabeth's reign. The rule of a queen could, of course, only be eulogized as motherly, not fatherly, but that did not substantially alter the qualities of such rule, which was deemed equally caring, merciful, and peace-loving.[398] More importantly, however, when claiming to head the national body, Elizabeth deliberately conflated her natural body with the English body politic, so that her corporeal chastity functioned as a 'signifier for the cultural purity of the land over which she ruled'.[399] This idea of bodily equivalence is most compellingly visualised in the Ditchley portrait (c. 1592), where the queen, dressed in a splendid white gown richly decked with pearls and jewels, towers over the map of England under her feet: 'Queen, crown and island become one. Elizabeth is England, woman and kingdom are interchangeable.'[400]

However, the unprecedented identification of the monarch's natural body with the nation as a whole seems to reflect the inability to productively sustain the image of Elizabeth as a bride of the Protestant nation, although the idea was certainly prominent at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.[401] Helen Hackett claims that re-gendering England as male in order to

University Press, 1957)). Its fundamental scriptural foundations can, of course, be identified in the first epistle to the Corinthians, 12: 12–27.

[397] *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*, in Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 76.

[398] Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, pp. 77–78.

[399] Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics*, pp. 24–25. For more on the theory of the King's two bodies which both Elizabeth and James were exploiting, see Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*; Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

[400] Strong, *Gloriana*, p. 136.

[401] See Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, pp. 56–60.

accommodate the Queen was in practice rather uncommon and perceived as unusual; therefore, due to the congruity of gender, Elizabeth was preferably presented as a personification of England and its Protestant Church, as was the case in the Ditchley portrait.[402] Moreover, after the failed Anjou courtship and Thomas Churchyard's *Shew of Chastity*, performed at Norwich in 1578, in which the figure of Chastity handed over the weapons of the banished Cupid to Elizabeth, the political elite and Elizabethan eulogists started to decisively prefer the idea of Elizabeth as Virgin Queen, celebrated under many names, such as Astraea, Diana, Cynthia, and the Spenserian Gloriana-Belphoebe.[403] Once the cult of Elizabeth firmly adopted the celebration of the Queen's virginity, imagining the sovereign as a personification of the state rather than as a bride of the nation seemed even more desirable and particularly suitable from the troubled 1580s onward, when maintaining the purity and impenetrability of the Queen's body was directly analogous to defending the Protestant nation against Catholic plots and invasion.[404]

Although the rhetoric of marriage and unity was therefore already available to James at the time of his successions, it needed crucial reconfigurations and, more importantly, a much more prominent role in the country's political discourse if it was to articulate and implement royal policies. After James I's succession in 1603, the English monarchy not only witnessed a peaceful Union with Scotland in the blood of its new sovereign, but also the return of an actual royal family for the first time since Henry VIII. Clearly the idea of the Anglo-Scottish Union had to offer a metaphorical alternative to the now obsolete rhetoric of virginity, which preferred singularity, impenetrability, and internal national coherence. Kevin Curran has aptly demonstrated that the celebration and performance of high-profile weddings and

[402] Ibid., 60.
[403] See Susan Doran, 'Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561–1581', *The Historical Journal*, 38/2 (1995), 257–74; Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, pp. 94–127; Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, pp. 105–21; Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea'.
[404] Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics*, pp. 18–19.

marriage masques at the Jacobean court between 1603 and 1615 exerted substantial cultural force in contributing to the establishment and dissemination of the royal language of union.[405] The masques themselves, however, although diligently sourcing the rich depository of Elizabethan imagery, drew fundamentally on King James' own rhetoric.

In order to properly articulate the new political reality and natural inevitability of Union between England and Scotland, King James substituted paternal love, which featured prominently in his early theories of kingship, with spousal love. Therefore, in his parliamentary speeches, apart from using the more familiar metaphors of the head and its body, or the shepherd and its flock, James also allegorized his relationship to the united Britain, and the Union of the two nations itself, as a marriage. On 19 March 1604, King James delivered his first speech in Parliament and unveiled his desire to build a firmer Union between the two kingdoms:

> Hath not God first vnited these two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and similitude of maners? Yae, hath hee not made vs all in one Island, compassed with one Sea, and of it selfe by nature so indiuisible, as almost those that were borderers themselues on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, not know, or discerne their owne limits? […] What God hath conioyned then, let no man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; […] I hope therefore no man will be so vnreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King vnder the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and husband to two wiues.[406]

[405] Ibid., pp. 3–5. Curran offers a detailed analysis of six major wedding celebrations taking place at the Jacobean court.
[406] Sommerville, *Political Writings*, pp. 135–36.

The only way James can observe his Christian duty to stay monogamous and be wedded to one wife only is if the two nations of the one island of Britain are themselves wedded, embracing 'two hearts in one'.[407] The rhetoric was vigorously maintained even though, due to the complexity of the metaphor and the political situation itself, incongruities in James' argument were common; it seems that James demanded a marriage between two wives, who three years later, as we shall see, became androgynous 'friends', only to be again immediately re-gendered.[408]

Such rhetorical exercises are reminiscent of James' attempts decades earlier to articulate his relationship with Queen Elizabeth. In 1586, during the negotiations of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty, James appropriated erotic language in an attempt to settle the disagreements between the two monarchs. In one of the sonnets written to Elizabeth, he (rather tactlessly) imagined his relation to her as that of husband and wife, inverting the actual power relations between them.[409]

> […]
>
> Full oft contentions great arise, we see,
>
> Betwixt the husband and his loving wife
>
> That sine they may the firmlyer agree
>
> When ended is that sudden choler strife.
>
> […]
>
> The winged boy dissentions hot and rife

[407] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.128.
[408] Cf. Curran, *Marriage, Performance, and Politics*, pp. 27–28.
[409] Peter C. Herman, *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 160–61.

Twixt his lets fall like sudden summer showers.

Even so this coldness did betwixt us fall

To kindle our love as sure I hope it shall.[410]

Unsurprisingly, Elizabeth was not impressed with James' poetic efforts and did not grace them with a response. In addition to articulating their relationship as gendered and hierarchical, James invoked an image of Cupid, who, according to his verses, allowed dissent between the monarchs only to rekindle a more vigorous love between them. As Peter Herman observes, James' amorous rhetoric – his letters often addressed Elizabeth as a sister and even mother – might have struck the recipient as close to incest, rumours of which had haunted her reign.[411] Remembering Henry VIII's charges raised against his second wife Anne Boleyn, Catholic challenges to Elizabeth's legitimacy claimed she was the illegitimate child of an incestuous relationship between Anne and her brother.[412] The allegorical representation of a harmonious Anglo-Scottish relationship had therefore never been straightforward and without embarrassing pitfalls.

In 1607, when virtually the whole of James' speech to the Parliament was dedicated to the still unsolvable issue of the Union, James stressed Parliament's importance in the gradual and sequential political process which needed to be observed in order to reach the final agreement. To illustrate his vision of a pragmatic, reconciliatory progress towards Union, he referred to the different stages leading towards a marriage contract:

[410] Herman, *Royal Poetrie*, p. 161.
[411] Ibid., 164–65.
[412] See the well-known invective in Nicholas Sander's 1585 publication *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, ed, by David Lewis (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), pp. 99–101; cf. Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, pp. 130–32.

> Vnion is a mariage: would he not bee thought absurd that for furthering of a marriage betweene two friends of his, would make his first motion to haue the two parties be laid in bedde together, and performe the other turns of marriage? Must there not precede the mutuall sight and acquaintance of the parties one with another, the conditions of the contract, the Ioincture to be talked of and agreed vpon by their friends, and such other things as in order ought to goe before the ending of such a worke? The vnion is an eternall agreement and reconciliation of many long bloody warres that haue beene betweene these two ancient Kingdomes. Is it the readiest way to agree a priuate quarrel betweene two, to bring them at the first to shake hands, and as it were kisse other, and lie vnder one roofe or rather in one bedde together, before that first the ground of their quarrel be communed vpon, their minds mitigated, their affections prepared, and all other circumstances first vsed, that ought to be vsed to proceed to such a final agreement?[413]

Emphasizing the need for reconciliation and expressing acceptance of parliamentary procedure, James was trying to persuade the reluctant English Parliament to rethink its position on the legal Union with Scotland, and to tackle English xenophobia, which found its voice in Sir Christopher Pigott.[414] It was wrong, James claimed, to think that Scotland would be better off than England in such a Union; nor was the English part of the island in danger of being inundated by Scotsmen. Did Scotland

> not neede to be well prepared to perswade their mutuall consent, seeing you here haue all the great aduantage by the Vnion. Is not here the personal residence of the King, his whole Court and family? Is not here the seate of Iustice, and the fountaine

[413] Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 163.
[414] See 'House of Commons Journal Volume 1: 13 February 1607', in *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. 1 (1547–1629) (London: House of Commons, 1802). For a concise discussion of political issues associated with the Union see Butler, *The Stuart Court Masque*, pp. 95–99.

> of Gouernment? must they not be subiected to the Lawes of England, and so with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland, and those other remote and Northern Shires?[415]

Furthermore, James did not stick to desexualized commonplaces of the two nations, as previously implied by the use of the term 'friends'. Now, to emphasize the degree of Scottish compromise, which, James hoped, would console English pride and mitigate xenophobia, he re-gendered the parties involved in a political marriage: 'you are to be the husband, they the wife: you conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond of loue.'[416] The English body politic was now decisively the male lover, who needed to woo, win over, and command Scotland, not by exercising violence, but by patient spousal dedication. It is clear that we should not consider the gender of the parties in the Anglo-Scottish metaphorical marriage to be static and rigid, but rather as malleable and ultimately dependent on contingencies of rhetorical telos.

In Brewer's play, only love, although multifarious and antagonistic in its embodiments, can bring about true social and political change. Expedient yet honest love allowed Roger Thornton to peacefully consolidate his social mobility by marrying into the Newcastle oligarchy. Similarly, a pragmatic 'kind love' of the Scottish king,[417] who sends his aid against the common foe of both kingdoms, helps ultimately drive the Danes from England, while Alured's chaste love for Elgina advances the peace process between the English and the Danes. Elgina's death, although tragic, monumentalizes Alured's Platonic love, which no longer requires the physical presence of the beloved. In fact, Elgina's absence is quite necessary for Alured's desire to transcend material singularity and engage with its 'true aspect

[415] Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 164.
[416] Ibid., p. 164.
[417] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.122.

[…] which is a contemplation of love itself', which in turn shapes his politics of union.[418] Although temporarily, even Canutus' lustful love for Cartesmunda procures peace: like Mars by Venus, Canutus is disarmed by the nun.[419]

The last scene of *The Lovesick King*, which is marked by reconciliation and a return of peace, is rhetorically saturated with tropes of love. 'How now, still sad Canutus? / We now must war with love, to raise this siege, / Which we will do with Banquets, and with Revels',[420] claims Alured, clearly alluding to Elgina's 'Love encounters' that must supplant 'stern Wars'.[421] And yet, the love referred to by Alured is not romantic love, which occupies Elgina's thoughts, but communal love, procured through neighbourliness and conviviality. Reconciliation and peace which have been won first on the battlefield and afterwards through the King's demonstration of mercy and distribution of rightful rewards and gifts among his loyal subjects, particularly the town and citizens of Newcastle, culminate in an Anglo-Scottish Union. The play's greatest compliment to James was penned by Brewer in Alured's concluding speech:

> Great King of Scotland, we are yet a debtor
>
> To your kind love, which thus we 'gin to pay,
>
> All those our Northern borders bounding on Cumberland,
>
> From Tine to Tweed, we add unto your Crown,
>
> So 'twas fore-promised, and 'tis now perform'd;
>
> Most fit it is that we be ever lovers;

[418] Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender*, p. 133.
[419] Cf. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 81–96. The iconographic importance of the union between Mars and Venus for the play is discussed in detail in the following chapter.
[420] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.118–20.
[421] Ibid., I.iii.274–75.

> The Sea that binds us in one Continent,
>
> Doth teach us to imbrace two hearts in one,
>
> To strengthen both 'gainst all invasion.[422]

Although, at the time of Danish invasion, the independent kingdom of Cumberland was granted by King Edmund to Malcolm, King of Scots, no such historical precedent exists for Northumberland, the county between the rivers Tyne and Tweed.[423] Although, as I have already demonstrated, the Anglo-Scottish Union is rhetorically implied and anticipated throughout the play, it ultimately cannot be properly enacted on stage centuries before the succession of the Stuart monarchs. The play's Jacobean ideology can only be fully apprehended through its performance context at Newcastle in the presence of King James. The two hearts of Britain were only properly joined as lovers in James VI and I's own natural body; only in the idealized political union of the two kingdoms, advocated by James, can the transaction of Northumberland from the English to the Scottish Crown be deemed materially irrelevant and signify a symbolic equivalence of the two kingdoms. In other words, within the ideological position of the play's performance context, Alured's gifting of Northumberland to Donald cannot imply redrawing of the borders between the two kingdoms because, according to a pertinent interpretative background, England and Scotland are already one. Instead, the only profit produced by this transaction accumulates as an increase in symbolic capital of the inhabitants between Tyne and Tweed, in particular the mayor and aldermen of Newcastle, the patrons of the performance. By participating in this transaction, the Newcastle elite not only appropriated and endorsed James' unionist policy, but also articulated the centrality of borderland counties in its rhetorical and political manifestations.

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[422] Ibid., V.ii.121–29.
[423] John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1611), p. 87; cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 343.

Understandably, the Borderlands, officially renamed to Middle Shires by proclamation in 1604, feature frequently in James' discussions of the Union.[424] In 1604, borderers on both the Scottish and English side were, in James' words, not able to 'distinguish, nor know, or discerne their owne limits' due to the natural indivisibility of the island and absence of a hard geographical Anglo-Scottish border.[425] Four years later, they became the navel of both kingdoms; where before the Union, only 'bloodshed, oppression, complaints and outcries' ruled those parts, now every man lived 'peaceably vnder his owne figgtree'.[426] For James, pacification of the Middle Shires was a fundamental step in the process of negotiating a real political Union. *The Lovesick King* clearly reflects the significance of the border counties by imagining Northumberland passing from English to the Scottish Crown as a dowry anticipating and assuring the future marriage of the two kingdoms.

I have demonstrated that Brewer's reliance on James' political language and theory is not superficial. Instead, he profoundly integrates it with dramatic action. Romantic love is used as a social pattern through which questions of kinship and political union can be addressed and explored. *The Lovesick King* ultimately endorses James' political project of the Anglo-Scottish Union, giving a voice to Newcastle and Northumberland elites, who generally remained strongly loyal to the Stuart dynasty. However, the importance of Cupidean powers within the play raise further ideological questions. Although eulogizing James and the city was clearly at the top of Brewer's agenda, religious issues were not entirely glossed over, for they were unavoidably linked to idealized conceptions of kingship and society as a whole.

[424] Larkin and Hughes, *Royal Proclamations of King James I*, p. 18.
[425] Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 135.
[426] Ibid., p. 169.

4 Hercules in the North-East

So far, I have mainly discussed the context of *The Lovesick King*'s 1617 performance and how the play's plot and language were connected with Jacobean political thought and the Neoplatonic cosmos. Now, I will adopt a more literary-critical and art-historical perspective by juxtaposing Brewer's play with some of its literary and iconographic sources and influences, which provided the author with concrete material for characters, plots, and motifs. Particular attention will be given to Otto Vaenius's (Latinised for Van Veen) and books of love emblems such as *Amorum emblemata* (1606) and *Amoris divini emblemata*. By way of analysing how Brewer employed allegory and rewrote his sources and influences, I will focus on the author's articulation of heroic virtue and utilization of Herculean imagery. This broad perspective will nuance the recognised reliance of Brewer on Neoplatonic paradigms and prepare the ground for my subsequent discussion of how the politics of love in *The Lovesick King* advance or critique particular confessional positions in Jacobean England.

4.1 The Choice of Hercules

Critics have hitherto failed to recognize that Brewer's representation of ethics and alternatives of kingship relies heavily on a well-known classical allegory: the Choice of Hercules, also known as Heracles at the crossroads. Since no explicit reference to Hercules can be found in *The Lovesick King*, such scholarly oversight is understandable. In fact, insisting on Brewer's reliance on Herculean imagery may even be considered as a bold imposition of an external interpretative framework. And yet close scrutiny of the play's sources, its allegorical language, and structural idiosyncrasies will, I hope, demonstrate Brewer's complex dependence on the antithetic clash between Herculean Virtue and Vice, which is ultimately

surpassed by a Neoplatonic esoteric interpretation of the allegory: the ideal man's paradoxical need to reconcile previously disjunctive moral positions.

We find the earliest version of the parable of Hercules at the crossroads, originally composed by the Sophist Prodicus, in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, where it is narrated by Socrates in order to exhort his interlocutor Aristippus to practise temperance and self-control.[427] According to Xenophon, when Heracles was at a threshold, passing from boyhood to manhood, and about to become master of his own life, he went to a quiet place to decide what kind of life he wanted to lead. As he was pondering his future, he was approached by two beautiful women: one pure, modest, and clad in white, the other plump and soft, with a painted face and provocative dress; the former representing Virtue (Αρετή), the latter Vice (Κακία). The charming Vice encouraged Hercules to follow his desires; she offered him a life of pleasure and carefree idleness:

> [O]f wars and worries you shall not think, but shall ever be considering what choice of food or drink you can find, what sight or sound will delight you, what touch or perfume; what tender love can give you most joy, what bed the softest slumbers; and how to come by all these pleasures with least trouble.[428]

Chaste Virtue represented the opposite morality. Instead of deceiving and seducing Hercules' senses with exquisite delicacies, she offered truth and hard work, which in turn would bring him eternal honour and true joy, not instant happiness:

> […] I will not deceive you by a pleasant prelude: I will rather tell you truly the things that are, as the gods have ordained them. For of all things good and fair, the gods

[427] *Memorabilia*, II.1.21–33.
[428] Ibid., II.1.24.

> give nothing to man without toil and effort. If you want the favour of the gods, you must worship the gods: if you desire the love of friends, you must do good to your friends: if you covet honour from a city, you must aid the city: if you are fain to win the admiration of all Hellas for virtue, you must strive to do good to Hellas.[429]

Hercules' choice is implied: his future labours are proof he has decided to follow Virtue and not given in to pleasures and idleness. Xenophon's version of the Choice of Hercules was, in the first century AD, imitated by Silius Italicus in the latter's epic on the Second Punic War, *Punica*, in which Hercules is substituted for a real historical figure, Scipio Africanus the Elder, himself allegedly an avid reader of Xenophon.[430] Burdened by anxious thoughts and hesitating to take up command of the Roman army in Spain, Scipio is suddenly visited by Virtue (Virtus) and Pleasure (Voluptas) in a dream.[431] Encouraged by Virtue's exhortations, Scipio finally rejects Pleasure and commences his brilliant military career, which culminates in his defeat of Hannibal at Zama. Although only discovered by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417, *Punica*, being the Latin source for an image of a hero deliberating between Virtue and Vice, probably enjoyed a wider audience than Xenophon's narrative and significantly contributed to the dissemination of the motif.[432]

Silius' Pleasure has a distinctly oriental flavour. Her 'head breathed Persian odours, and her ambrosial tresses flowed free; in her shining robe Tyrian purple was embroidered

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[429] Ibid., II.1.27–28.
[430] Karl Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), 162; Count Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, ed. by Virginia Cox (London: Everyman, 1994), I.XLIII.
[431] *Punica*, XV.18–128; Silius' narrative is probably also indebted to Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, a description of a dream vision of Scipio Aemilianus found in the sixth book of *De re publica*. The latter was widely known in Europe and was principally disseminated through the commentary on the dream written by the fifth-century Neoplatonist Macrobius, see *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. and ed. by William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952).
[432] Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1930), pp. 77–78.

with ruddy gold'.[433] Virtue is again dressed in white, but her appearance is now so modest that 'in face and gait' she is 'more like a man', undoubtedly reflecting a Roman conception of *virtus*.[434] As a reward, both Xenophon's and Silius' Virtue promise earthly glory, but in Scipio's dream, Virtue conspicuously asserts man's natural share in the divine and his duty to be drawn towards heaven.[435] Since Virtue's road to happiness is long and hard, her 'household […] is set on a lofty hill, and a steep track leads there by a rocky ascent'.[436] Moreover, if Scipio wants to enter Virtue's abode, he needs to preserve the divine element within him and, by mastering his passions and enduring the toil of striving for public good, rise above the influence of fickle Fortune.

It is important to stress at this point that the development of the motif of Hercules' choice and its subsequent popularity in Renaissance Europe was part of a wider literary and cultural transformation of the hero in general. By the time Prodicus was active in the late 5th century BC, the poetry of Pindar and Bacchylides had already transformed Hercules from the most popular Greek hero into an embodiment of virtue and ideal of nobility.[437] Such sympathetic sublimation of the demigod, which also found its way onto the stage, most notably in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and Euripides' *Herakles*, had culminated in more developed philosophical allegories in the work of Herodorus of Heraclea (c. 400 BC) and the later Stoic re-deification of the hero.[438] Galinsky singles out a particularly illustrative passage from Herodorus' vast history of Hercules, which substantially influenced post-classical Herculean iconography and reads as a thoroughly familiar and normative articulation of Hercules' heroic virtue:

[433] *Punica*, XV.23–26.
[434] Ibid., XV.29–30.
[435] Ibid., XV.84–90; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, I.76–86.
[436] Ibid., XV.101–02.
[437] Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme*, pp. 23–39.
[438] Ibid., pp. 40–80, 167–84.

> They write that he is wearing a lion's skin and carrying a club and holding three apples in his hand. They tell as a myth that he took away these very three apples when he killed the dragon with the club, that is to say when he conquered the manifold calculations of stinging desire by the club of philosophy, having noble reason as a garb like a lion's skin. And he took away the three apples, that is to say three virtues (*aretās*): of not getting angry, of not loving money, of not being fond of pleasure. By the club of the strong soul (*psychē*) he overcame the earthly struggle of vile desire, living like a philosopher until his death.[439]

In the Renaissance, Hercules' importance as a literary figure was greatly surpassed by his allegorical status as *exemplum virtutis*, an image heavily influenced by the Stoic idealization of the hero as a steadfast, self-sacrificing benefactor of humanity.[440] Rather than being preoccupied with adapting the hero to contemporary settings and literary narratives, the authors were far more interested in the myth's interpretation, in establishing 'what Herakles stood for and what his myth was really all about'.[441] Coluccio Salutatis' *De Laboribus Herculis* (1406) was the first and most comprehensive work of allegorical and moral interest in Hercules, which later dominated the sixteenth-century view of the hero.[442] The distillation of this tradition, which both harks back to Herodorus of Heraclea and lends itself well to moralizing and Christianizing interpretations, was found in emblem books, beginning with Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum liber* (1531), which expanded its utilization of Hercules as an emblematic figure in subsequent editions.[443] In the vastly influential emblem book *Iconologia* (1st ed. 1593), Cesare Ripa produced four emblems of heroic virtue with Hercules

[439] Ibid., pp. 56.
[440] Eugene M. Waith, *The Herculean Hero: in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), pp. 30–31; Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme*, pp. 165–84.
[441] Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme*, pp. 196.
[442] Ibid., pp. 196–98; cf. Margherita Morreale, 'Coluccio Salutati's *De Laboribus Herculis* (1604) and Enrique de Villena's *Los Doze Trabajos de Hercules* (1417)', *Studies in Philology*, 51/2 (1954), 95–106.
[443] Ibid., 198, 200–5.

taking the centre stage. Clad in a lion's skin and wielding a club, Hercules is in one instance slaying a dragon, which signifies Hercules' moderation of concupiscence, and in another, holding three golden apples, which, as in Herodorus, represent his mastery of the three heroic virtues: 'the first is the moderation of anger, the second, temperance of avarice, the last is abundant contempt of delights and pleasures'.[444] The version of the latter emblem was later reproduced by Henry Peacham in *Minerva Britanna* (1612) under the inscription *Virtus Romana et antiqua* (fig. 3). The three golden apples are again interpreted as

> […] the three Heroique vertues old,
>
> The Lions skinne, about his shoulders stretcht,
>
> Notes fortitude, his Clubbe the crabbed paine,
>
> To braue atcheiuements, ere we can attaine.[445]

In moralizing on the club, Peacham chooses to focus on the second meaning suggested by Ripa. Primarily, the club 'signifies reason, which governs and subdues sexual desire'.[446] However, a more thorough contemplation of the attribute will reveal its nodosity, which for Ripa represents the difficulties faced in attaining virtue. He links this exposition to the story of Hercules at the crossroads, when the hero 'chose the way of virtue despite being hard and of the greatest difficulty'.[447] Peacham's 'crabbed paine' is therefore intimately linked to the Prodicean motif.

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[444] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia overo Descrittione di diverse Imagini* (Roma: Faci, 1603), p. 507; cf. Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme*, p. 198; Waith, *The Herculean Hero*, p. 40.
[445] Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical deuises, furnished, and adorned with emblemes and impresa's of sundry natures, newly devised, moralized, and published* (London: Dight, 1612), p. 36.
[446] Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 507.
[447] Ibid.

Fig. 3. 'Virtus Romana et antiqua' from Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612), p. 36.

Within this general celebration of Hercules as *exemplum virtutis*, the moral conceit of Hercules at the crossroads became ubiquitous and immensely popular, particularly in the visual arts, and retained its attractiveness well into the eighteenth century, as Erwin Panofsky has aptly demonstrated.[448] To depict the allegory, artists not only drew on Xenophon and Silius, but also on Philostratus' *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (3rd century AD), a text surprisingly well known to humanists.[449] The most prominent features of what Panofsky calls a 'Philostratic scheme' are the ugliness of Virtue, the physical pulling of Hercules by the two women to their respective sides, and the representation of Virtue as barefooted in contrast to Vice, who is shoed in golden sandals.[450]

[448] See Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, pp. 107–73; examples of engravings can be found in the British Museum, see Muller after Spranger, 1853,0312.57; Scultor after Romano, V,8.40; Visscher after Saenredam, 1937,0915.418; Wierix after can den Broeck, 1973,0915.162; for an English example see the emblem *Bivium virtutis & vitii* [the crossroads of virtue and vice] in Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblems* (Leiden: Plantyn, 1584), p. 40. Cf. Waith, *The Herculean Hero*, 45–59.
[449] See *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, VI.10.5–6.
[450] Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, pp. 108–19.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Annibale Carracci's painting *Hercules at the Crossroads* (1596), now in the Museo Nazionale di Campodimonte in Naples, set the trend for subsequent seventeenth-century visualizations of the motif, not only in terms of composition, but also by fully embracing its dramatic potential and radically highlighting the act of choosing rather than the anticipated choice of the hero (fig. 4).[451] In the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, the dramatic aspect of the story had already been greatly utilized by German humanists, who often dramatized Xenophon's parable.[452] However, in those plays, which still present classical content within the framework of a Christian morality play, Hercules functions more as an idealized example of moral and

Fig. 4. Annibale Carracci, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, c. 1596. Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples.

[451] Ibid., pp. 124–26; Christopher Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention and Historical Truth: Hercules at the Crossroads* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 123 –27.
[452] Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, pp. 83–102; Cora Dietl, 'Neo-Latin Humanist and Protestant Drama in Germany', in *Neo-Latin Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Jan Bloemendal and Howard B. Norland (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp, 103–84 (pp. 144–46); Galinsky, *Herakles Theme*, 199.

martial virtues used for praising princes than an autonomous subject defined by his choice and the ambiguities attached thereto.[453] In the course of the sixteenth century, the Choice of Hercules detached itself from its medieval religious-ontological interpretation, in which it acted as an embodiment of the struggle between heaven and hell for the human soul.[454] Hercules' choice instead transformed into an internal ethico-psychological conflict, which reflected both the empowerment and anxiety of the individual, whose fortune was now considerably more dependent on his autonomy and free will rather than supernatural forces. Whitney's emblem *Bivium virtutis & vitii*, appropriated from Hadrianus Junius' *Emblemata* (1565), clearly reflects this new development, shifting the focus firmly on Hercules' power to shape his own life. After Pleasure and Virtue have tempted Hercules, the emblem's *subscriptio* ventriloquizes the hero's justification of his choice:

> They long did striue, before he could be wonne,
>
> Till at the lengthe, Alcides thus begonne.
>
> Oh pleasure, thoughe thie waie bee smoothe, and faire,
>
> And sweete delightes in all thy courtes abounde:
>
> Yet can I heare, of none that haue bene there,
>
> That after life, with fame haue bene renoumde:
>
> For honor hates, with pleasure to remaine,
>
> Then houlde thy peace, thow waftes thie winde in vaine.

[453] See for example Benedictus Chelidonius' *Voluptatis cum Virtute disceptatio* (Vienna, 1515), which was performed in Vienna before the Archduke of Burgundy, later Emperor Charles V. In the play, the Archduke is the judge, the one making the choice between Virtue and Voluptuousness, while Hercules appears in act II as a 'witness' on the side of Virtue/Pallas; Voluptas is aided by Epicurus, who is guided by Satan. (Dietl, 'Neo-Latin Humanist and Protestant Drama', p. 145).
[454] Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, pp. 155–56.

But heare, I yeelde oh virtue to thie will,

And vowe my selfe, all labour to indure,

For to ascende the steepe, and craggie hill,

The toppe whereof, whoe so attaines, is sure

For his rewarde, to haue a crowne of fame:

Thus HERCVLES, obey'd this sacred dame.[455]

Although Whitney is clearly aware of dramatic qualities in the hero's interaction with Virtue and Pleasure, Hercules' monologue falls short of Carracci's rigorous emphasis on the deliberating subject. For Christopher Braider, Carracci's *Hercules at the Crossroads* represents a fundamental moment in the development of modern subjectivity because it

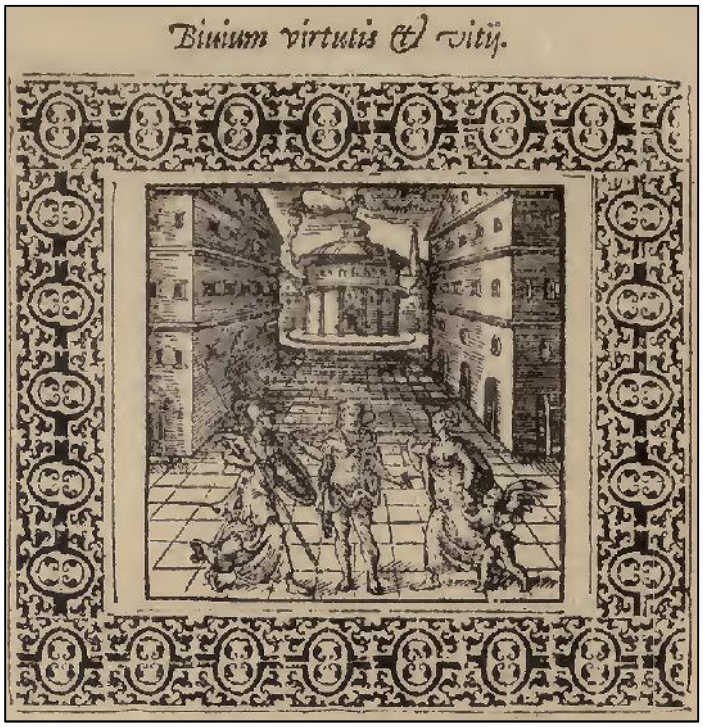

Fig. 5. 'Bivium virtutis & vitij' from Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblems* (Leiden, 1584), p. 40.

[455] Whitney, *A choice of emblems*, p. 40.

supplies 'a blueprint for self-conscious agency at large, an inward turn whose most characteristic literary expression is […] the ego of dramatic soliloquy'.[456] While embodying the new psychological perspective of the motif, Whitney's Hercules nevertheless remains a simple moral emblem, unambiguously representing and endorsing the right choice. We are invited to contemplate the moment of the hero's decision, not his deliberation.

In later eroticized baroque painting, which sacrificed Carracci's contemplative quietness for an external tumultuousness of the agonizingly difficult choice, the drama of the choice further intensified.[457] In *The Choice of Hercules* (c. 1635), which has been attributed to either Rubens' workshop or more specifically to Jan van den Hoecke, Hercules has only just made his choice, but its gravity is externalized into erotic tension between Vice/Venus and Hercules, who in spite of his decision seems to be reluctant to leave his lover, being relentlessly pulled away by Virtue/Minerva (fig. 6).[458] If Carracci's painting relates to modern dramatic soliloquy, then the Uffizi Hercules reflects the physical agony and pathos of the baroque stage.

In spite of a pervasive tendency for abstraction and reduction of Hercules into an idealized image of prudence and virtue, which the story of the Choice of Hercules perpetuated, the Renaissance also inherited a second type of Hercules, one marked by pride, unruly appetite, and licentious sexuality. Mythographers were more than aware that, although choosing the path of virtue in his youth, Hercules had been throughout his lifetime tempted and led astray by vices and pleasures, which was one of the reasons the Church fathers saw him as completely devoid of any Christian notions of virtue and condemned him

[456] Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention,* p. 111.
[457] On the intellectual significance of the Choice of Hercules for baroque drama see Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention*, pp. 119, 132–39.
[458] Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, pp. 113–16; Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention,* pp. 123 –24; cf. Lisa Rosenthal's discussion of the painting in the context of Rubens' construction of heroic virtue in *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 63–112.

Fig. 6. Peter Paul Rubens' workshop, *The Choice of Hercules*, c. 1635. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

as a libertine, adulterer, and a devilish creation.[459] Stoic idealizations of Hercules as a champion of fortitude and dispassionate self-sacrifice were similarly at odds with the hero's hedonistic escapades, which had made him such a popular figure in ancient Greek festive comedy.[460] The most notable embarrassments in Hercules' life, apart from the more inconsequential indulgences like challenging Dionysus to a drinking contest, were his outbursts of madness, adulterous love for Iole, daughter of Eurytus, and his degenerate servitude to the Lydian Queen Omphale, who robbed the hero of his club and lion's skin only to command him to wear a dress and spin wool with a distaff. The process of appropriating Hercules as an emblem of heroic virtue and idealized masculinity, particularly suitable for praising royalty, was therefore paralleled with increasingly prominent challenges

[459] Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, 188–89.
[460] Ibid., pp. 81–100.

to the unproblematic celebration of the hero.[461] Based on Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*, Deianira's letter from Ovid's *Heroides* in particular secured a wide dissemination of the embarrassing Omphale story and subsequently an image of Hercules as a 'sexual deviant and disastrous husband'.[462] Moreover, the distaff Hercules became an epitome of fundamental early modern anxieties about female rule and male submission to unruly female passions.[463] In William Prynne's comprehensive discussion of the dangers of transvestism, Hercules enslaved by Omphale features as a prominent example of a 'valiant man […] degenerate into a woman':

> […] he lets his coate hand downe to his ankles, he twists a girdle about his brest, he puts on womens shoes, and after the manner of women, he puts a cawle upon his head; moreover, he carries about a distaff with wooll, and drawes out a thred with his right hand, wherewith he hath formerly borne a trophie […] O folly! O blindnesse![464]

The flip side of Renaissance celebration of Hercules at the crossroads as *exemplum virtutis* was therefore satiric mockery of him as an effeminized hero, enslaved by womanish vices.

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[461] Richard Rowlands, *Killing Hercules: Deianira and the Politics of Domestic Violence, from Sophocles to the War on Terror* (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 113–23. For appropriation of Hercules in royal iconography, particularly of Habsburg monarchs and Henri IV, see Friedrich Polleroß, 'From the *exemplum virtutis* to the Apotheosis. Hercules as an Identification Figure in Portraiture. An Example of the Adoption of Classical Forms of Representation', in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. by Allan Ellenius (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 37–62; Corrado Vivanti, 'Henry IV, the Gallic Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 176–197; Edmund H. Dickerman and Anita M. Walker, 'The Choice of Hercules: Henry IV as Hero', *The Historical Journal*, 39/2 (1996), 315–37.

[462] Rowlands, *Killing Hercules*, p. 115; Ovid, *Heroides*, IX.47–118.

[463] On the misogynist conception of masculine virtue in Machiavelli see Hannah Pitkin, *Fortune is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 3–26, 109–38; Justus Lipsius' popular Neostoic theory of statehood equally excluded women from political participation and made gendered distinctions between female vices and male princely virtues (see Ian McLean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 47–67; Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the Early Modern State*, trans. by David McLintock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 39–75). Cf. Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, pp. 79–88.

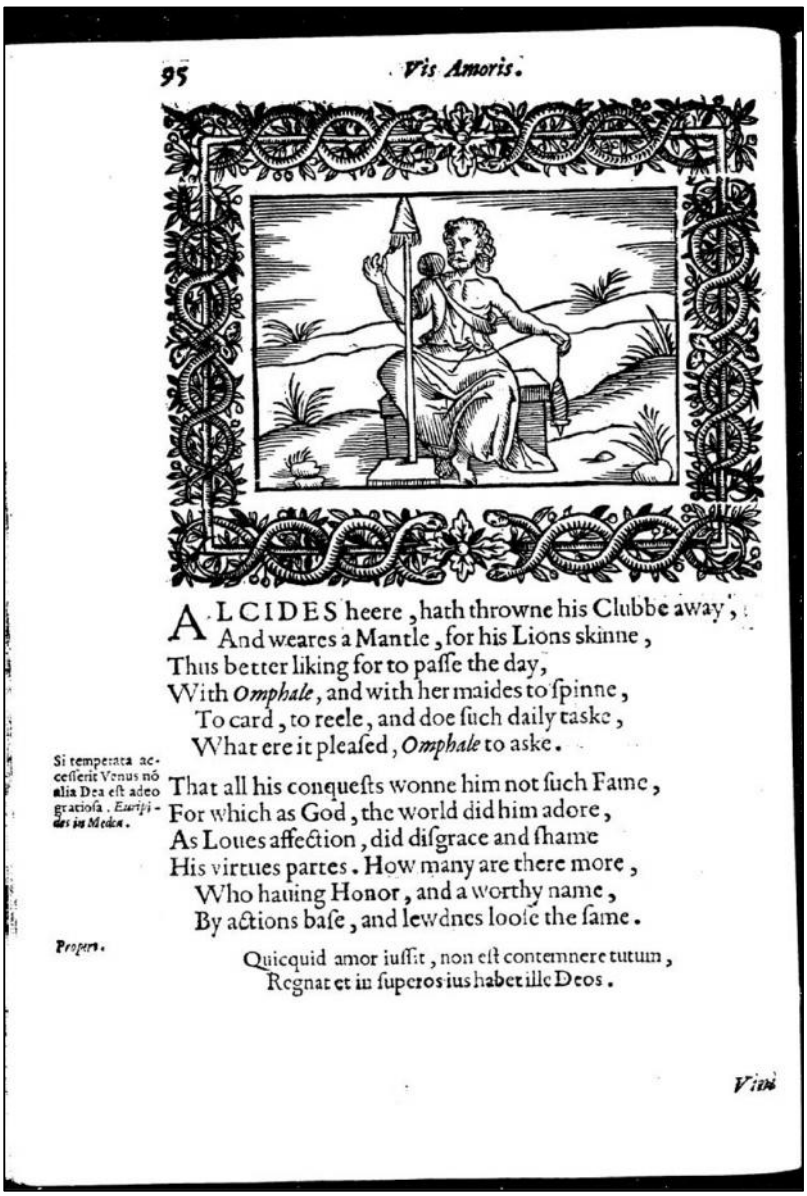
[464] William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix*, p. 197; cf. Laura Levine, 'Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642', *Criticism*, 28 (1986), 121–43.

Distaff Hercules, who exchanged honour for lewdness, appears in Peacham as a negative example of *vis amoris* (fig. 7). The emblem is an unequivocal warning against pleasure and base passions:

> Alcides here, hath throwne his Clubbe away,
> And weares a Mantle, for his Lions skinne,
> Thus Better liking for to passe the day,
> With Omphale, and with her maides to spinne,
> To card, to reele, and doe such daily taske,
> What ere it pleased, Omphale to aske.
>
> That all his conquests wonne him not such Fame,
> For which as God, the world did him adore,
> As Loues affection, did disgrace and shame
> His virtues partes. How many are there more,
> Who hauing Honor, and a worthy name,
> By actions base, and lewdness loose the same.[465]

Even if Hercules' moral failures disrupt his idealizations, the motif of Hercules and Omphale, which enjoyed equal popularity to Prodicean Hercules, was not always read as a simple warning against hedonism, transvestism, and destructive sexual desire, but

[465] Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 95.



95 Vis Amoris.

ALCIDES heere, hath throwne his Clubbe away,
And weares a Mantle, for his Lions skinne,
Thus better liking for to paſſe the day,
With *Omphale*, and with her maides to ſpinne,
To card, to reele, and doe ſuch daily taske,
What ere it pleaſed, *Omphale* to aske.

Si temperata accesſerit Venus nõ alia Dea eſt adeo gratioſa. *Euripides in Medea.*

That all his conqueſts wonne him not ſuch Fame,
For which as God, the world did him adore,
As Loues affection, did diſgrace and ſhame
His virtues partes. How many are there more,
Who hauing Honor, and a worthy name,
By actions baſe, and lewdnes looſe the ſame.

Propert.

Quicquid amor iuſſit, non eſt contemnere tutum,
Regnat et in ſuperos ius habet ille Deos.

Vitis

Fig. 7. 'Vis Amoris' from Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (London, 1612), p. 95.

engendered far more complex responses.[466] When Philip Sidney criticises the mongrel mingling of 'Kinges and Clownes' on English stage, rejecting the belief of English comedians that 'there is no delight without laughter', he has to admit that even so both can coexist exceedingly harmoniously:

[466] Including misogynist justifications of the hero, cf. Rowlands, *Killing Hercules*, pp. 106–17; Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, pp. 113–45; Peggy Muñoz Simonds, 'The Herculean Lover in the Emblems of Cranach and Vaenius', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis, Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Toronto, 8 August to 13 August 1988*, ed. by Alexander Dalzell, Charles Fantazzi and Richard J. Schoeck (Binghamton, 1991), pp. 697–710.

> So in Hercules, painted with his great beard, and furious cauntenaunce, in a womans attire, spinning, at Omphales commaundement, it breedes both delight and laughter: for the representing of so straunge a power in Love, procures delight, and the scornefulnesse of the action, stirreth laughter.[467]

If the hero's shameful submission to base pleasure invites scorn and laughter, the notion that even the very man who embodies heroic perfection can forget himself and be vanquished by love and female passions, bears redeeming qualities and breeds delight, for aside from focusing on contempt for the effeminate hero, we are invited to contemplate the overwhelming power of love. Sidney's interpretation is drawing on the tradition popularized by Petrarch's allegorical poem *Triumph of Love*, in which Hercules is represented as one of Cupid's illustrious victims; such a defeat by love and a subsequent submission to one's beloved is treated in the Petrarchan tradition as an ideal, a civilising process rather than dishonour.[468] It is for the same reason that Moth in *Love's Labour's Lost* mentions Hercules as an appropriate precedent for a soldier's transgressive love in order to comfort his enamoured master Armado.[469] In spite of his moralistic interpretation of distaff Hercules, Peacham himself was aware of how the overwhelming power of Cupid and Hercules' extraordinary virtue are reciprocally co-dependent: their individual superiority can be most fruitfully articulated through subjugating or imitating their respective opposite. In 'Maior Hercule' ('Greater than Hercules'), an emblem inspired by two emblems from Vaenius'

[467] *Defence of Poesie*, pp. 40.
[468] Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, pp. 123–24. In Petrarch, the hero is simply mentioned as 'possente e forte / Ercole, ch'Amor prese [powerful and strong Hercules, whom Love holds]' (*Triumphus Cupidinis I*, 124–25, in Francesco Petrarca, *Triumphi*, ed. by Marco Ariani (Milano: Mursia, 1988)), but Lord Morley, the first English translator of the *Triumphs*, substantially expands the line: 'He that goeth with hym [Theseus] in the route / It is Hercules the stronge, fierce and stoute / That love caused to folowe hyr daunce' (D. D. Carnicelli (ed.), *Lord Morley's* Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke*: The First English Translation of the Trionfi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 85).
[469] *Love's Labour's Lost*, I.ii.56–63.

Amorum emblemata (1608), Peacham most clearly alludes to this reciprocity.[470] Since Cupid vanquished all the greatest heroes and would cast the 'Sonne [of] Alcmene,' into oblivion if his 'Trophees, & braue triumphes' were properly acknowledged, Love itself was depicted as Hercules carrying the pillars of Gades.[471]

It is hard to assess how familiar Brewer and his audience would have been with the iconographic tradition of Hercules *in bivio* and the motifs related to it. At the time, the appreciation of Renaissance art in England notoriously lagged behind Continental Europe. However, by 1617, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who, as we know, was most probably present at the Newcastle performance of *The Lovesick King*, had already returned from his transformative 1613 Italian tour with Inigo Jones, which stimulated him to become an avid art collector and the leading connoisseur of visual arts at the Stuart court.[472] In Italy, Arundel frantically collected art and books, met artists, and visited famous art collections; in Rome, for example, he was fortunate enough to be hosted by Marchese Giustiniani, one of the most prominent patrons and art collectors of his time, who supported the students of Carracci and boasted a rich collection of *Cravaggisti*, Venetians, and *bambocianti*.[473] On their return to England, at the end of 1615, the Earl and Countess of Arundel started setting up their collection at Arundel House, after Northampton's house in Greenwich tragically caught fire in January 1617. Among the art pieces, which were destroyed in the fire, were three paintings by 'Paolo Veronese, della vita di Hercole' (on the life of Hercules), which were originally intended for the Earl of Somerset before he was arrested for involvement in the murder of

[470] See 'Atlante Maior' and 'Nulli cupiat cessisse labori' in Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata […] Emblems of Loue, with verses in Latin, English, and Italian* (Antwerp, 1608), pp. 36–7, 200–1. Cf. Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964), p. 108.
[471] Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 73.
[472] See David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
[473] Howarth, *Lord Arundel*, pp. 46–47.

Sir Thomas Overbury.[474] There is no way to know whether any of the pictures portrayed Hercules at the crossroads, but Veronese was certainly not unfamiliar with the motif.[475]

Although Arundel's expert appreciation of art was a novelty, he was far from being the only one interested in collecting art. Before him, another Catholic aristocrat, Lord John Lumley (1533–1609), established a vast collection, in particular portraiture, at Nonsuch Palace and Lumley Castle in County Durham. In fact, Arundel inherited some of Lumley's art after his death in 1609.[476] Among the relatively small number of paintings with mythological motifs, the composers of the 1609 inventory at Lumley Castle, which included prominent Newcastle citizens, such as Lionel Maddison and William Bonner, could also find a 'Hercules picture & the picture of Tyme' and 'the storie & pictures of Mars & Venus'.[477]

But it was not only the privileged access to the private art collections which would have exposed Brewer's audience to Herculean iconography. Emblem books by Whitney, Peacham, and Otto Vaenius, which I am going to discuss in greater detail below, would have been a much more accessible source of information for the educated. It is harder to say, however, whether Continental engravings with Herculean subject matter were as common in England as they were on the Continent. Not many survive. But if the influence of subject prints on interior design and decoration of the English households can be considered as an indicator of their popularity, then we have to conclude that the English elite considered Herculean iconography far less attractive than biblical illustration.[478] However, one instance, discussed by Anthony Wells-Cole, is particularly intriguing. It is the carved overmantel in

[474] TNA, SP 14/80, fol. 131[r]; Howarth, *Lord Arundel*, pp. 60–61.
[475] See his famous *Choice Between Virtue and Vice* (c. 1565), Frick Collection, New York.
[476] Mary F. S. Hervey, 'A Lumley Inventory of 1609', *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, 6 (1917–18), 35–50. The original is in PGL, DPR/I/1609/L5/1–5.
[477] Hervey, 'A Lumley Inventory of 1609', p. 42.
[478] Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). On print circulation in early modern England, see also Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and Michael Hunter (ed.), *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

Levens Hall, Westmorland, from the end of the sixteenth century, a work of an outstanding anonymous Newcastle-based carver, who was, among other places, responsible for the decoration at Burton Agnes Hall in East Yorkshire about a decade later. It depicts an allegorical representation of the five senses, four elements, and four seasons, supported on one side by Samson and on the other by Hercules.[479]

Although his popularity may be questioned, Hercules was certainly known in the north-east of England. In the subsequent subchapters, I will focus, however, on more likely sources of Brewer's and his audience's familiarity with Hercules at the crossroads and related iconography: the London stage and love emblems of Otto Vaenius, which enjoyed wide circulation in England.

4.2 Hercules on Stage

For Thomas Heywood (c. 1573–1641), the purpose of theatre was to whip vice and draw spectators towards virtue. Moreover, since the beginning of western civilization, starting with Hercules himself, the imparting of virtue was inherently linked with theatrical performance: seeing the great deeds of illustrious predecessors on stage was vital in shaping the ancient worthies' desire to follow virtue. It was only after Hercules witnessed 'the worthy and memorable acts of his father *Iupiter*[,] [w]hich being personated with liuely and well-spirited action, wrought such impression in his noble thoughts, that in mere emulation of his fathers valor' that the hero subsequently performed his twelve labours.[480] According to Heywood, without theatrical representation and subsequent imitation of the imitation, Hercules would not have been able to make the right choice at the crossroads.

[479] Wells-Cole, pp. 199–200.
[480] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: Okes, 1612), sig. B3^{r}.

But in spite of this historical importance of Hercules and Heywood's claim that he himself had seen '*Hercules* in his owne shape' perform the twelve labours on stage, 'sights' so well executed 'to make an *Alexander'*, not many stage portrayals of the paragon of heroic virtue survive.[481] In May 1595, Philip Henslowe first recorded profits from the anonymous and now lost two-part play on Hercules, which remained in performance at the Rose Playhouse until January 1596.[482] In May 1598, the Admiral's Men paid to Martin Slatiar for 'boockes […] called ij ptes of hercolus' and a few months later, they spent 40 shillings for 'A Robe to playe hercolas in'.[483] Since Heywood had been associated with Henslowe and the Admiral's Men at least since 1596, it is very likely that in the *Apology* he is referring to the two parts of *Hercules*, which are mentioned in Henslowe's diary.[484] Moreover, Douglas Arrell has convincingly argued in favour of an old conjecture, first proposed by Frederick Fleay, that Heywood himself could have been the author of the Admiral's Hercules plays, which he revised and repackaged fifteen years later to produce *The Silver Age* and *The Brazen Age*.[485] Whether in the *Apology*, generally supposed to have been written in 1607, Heywood was indeed referring to parts *1* and *2* of *Hercules*, which he had (co)written himself, or to some other performance, perhaps a version of popular displays of agility and strength, such as 'the forces of Hercules' performed by the Earl of Leicester's Men during the feast of St. George at Utrecht in 1586, the second and third part of his Ovidian *Ages* plays remain the most comprehensive extant representation of Hercules on the English Renaissance stage.[486]

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[481] Heywood, *An Apology*, sig. B4^{r}.
[482] R. A. Foakes (ed.), *Henslowe's Diary*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 28–34; cf. Rowlands, *Killing Hercules*, p. 133.
[483] Foakes, *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 89, 93.
[484] Ibid., p. 50.
[485] Douglas Arrell, 'Heywood, Henslowe and Hercules: Tracking 1 and 2 Hercules in Heywood's Silver and Brazen Ages', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 17/1 (2014), 1–21; for a very different interpretation see Ernest Schanzer, 'Heywood's Ages and Shakespeare', *The Review of English Studies*, 11/41 (1960), 18–28.
[486] For 'the forces of Hercules' see John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 2 (London, 1823), p. 457; E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923),

In spite of a conspicuous personal absence of the hero, Herculean influence on public theatre, often spurred by Seneca's plays *Hercules Furens* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, was nevertheless substantial.[487] Moreover, the Prodicean fable and its associated motifs feature prominently in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), both of which should be considered as major influences on *The Lovesick King*. Scholars have also traced Herculean imagery in other Shakespearean plays, such as *Macbeth* (1606), whose Malcolm makes an appearance in Brewer's play.[488] In *Love's Labour's Lost* Hercules is named eleven times – apart from Cupid, he is the most frequently mentioned mythological character – and even briefly appears on stage portrayed by Armado's boy Moth as one of the ancient worthies in a failed pageant conceived by grandiose Holofernes.[489] More importantly, Shakespeare constructs his narrative by juxtaposing the two traditional Herculean *vitae*, the dispassionate *exemplum virtutis* and the amorous hero vanquished by love, 'only to suggest the need for a more appropriate attitude to eros, one […] that balances the claims of Venus and Diana, the impulses of engagement and detachment, romance and realism'.[490] The Prodicean character of Ferdinand's opening speech, the declaration of war against 'affections / And the huge army of the world's desires', is eventually supplanted by the Petrarchan courtship of the Princess of France and her ladies in waiting.[491] But the transformation of the 'little academe' from worshippers of Hercules *philosophicus* into followers of distaff Hercules does not correspond to the opposition between Alured and Canutus in *The Lovesick King*.[492] By yielding to their passions, Ferdinand and his courtiers

p. 90; R. C. Bald, 'Leicester's Men in the Low Countries', *The Review of English Studies*, 19/76 (1943), 395–97.

[487] Waith, *The Herculean Hero*; Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare and Classical Tragedy: The Influence of Seneca* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[488] Heiner Zimmermann, 'Macbeth and Hercules', *Renaissance Studies*, 20/3 (2006), 356–378.

[489] *Love's Labour's Lost*, V.ii.581–89; Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 210–11.

[490] Jeff Shulman, 'At the Crossroads of Myth: The Hermeneutics of Hercules from Ovid to Shakespeare', *English Literary History*, 50/1 (1983), 83–105 (p. 99).

[491] *Love's Labour's Lost*, I.i.9–10.

[492] Ibid., I.i.13; Shulman, 'At the Crossroads of Myth', p.102.

are not transformed into slaves of beastly lust, but into Platonic lovers; Biron in particular is the chief authority on Neoplatonic rhetoric. However, the courtiers' Neoplatonism is only an affectation. Biron's ecstatic metaphysical language cannot be completely dissociated from the misogyny of dispassionate Stoicism nor the idolatry of lovesickness, especially because his eulogy on love is nothing but a hypocritical device to excuse the lovers' passion and save them from charges of perjury.[493] 'One narcissistic fantasy' has 'been traded for another, but the real Rosaline remains out of sight'.[494] Although in *The Lovesick King* the maze of love is equally unpredictable, its solutions are explicit: an appropriate attitude to eros is demonstrated by Alured's harmonious balancing of virtue and pleasure, while Elgina is indeed an eternalized Platonic ideal, which exists outside of her lover's fancy.

If *Love's Labour's Lost* seems cognate to *The Lovesick King* mainly due to the plays' related mythological grounding, *Antony and Cleopatra* almost certainly had a more direct influence on Brewer. Both plays share some similarities in various messenger scenes, but their common treatment of the Herculean theme is of greater significance.[495] Both Canutus and Anthony are generals associated with Mars and Hercules and conquered by lust; the Roman general in particular, sharing company with eunuchs and ladies of the court and crowning his idleness with 'voluptuousness' and 'lascivious wassails', is not only emasculated, but properly effeminized and hardly considered 'more manlike / Than Cleopatra' herself.[496] By following Plutarch's comparison of Antony with distaffed Hercules, Shakespeare actually imagines his transvestism. 'Ere the ninth hour', Cleopatra recalls old times with Antony, 'I drunk him to his bed – / Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst / I wore his sword Philippan'.[497] And yet, Antony is in many ways dissimilar to

[493] *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV.iii.286–340.
[494] Shulman, 'At the Crossroads of Myth', p. 103.
[495] Dodds was the first to direct attention to them; '*Edmund Ironside*', p. 168.
[496] *Antony and Cleopatra*, I.iv.5–6, 26, 56.
[497] Ibid., II.v.21–23.

Canutus. Whereas the Danish king is fundamentally a one-dimensional character dominated by lust and only rarely displaying autonomy and doubt, Antony's psychology, constantly suspended between his martial identity and affections for Cleopatra, is far more complex. Moreover, after the conspicuous scene in which Antony is abandoned by his patron Hercules, he grows spiritually, overcoming the stark opposition of extremes which had hitherto directed his actions, only to begin reconciling virtue with pleasure and experience life in a distinctly human way.[498] Similarly, Antony and Octavian do not form an antithesis corresponding to Canutus and Alured. Unlike Alured's, Octavian's political practice is Machiavellian, aimed at destroying unions, not establishing them.

Nevertheless, Shakespeare's Antony was a prominent iteration of distaff Hercules on the Jacobean stage and probably provided a significant model for Brewer's adaptation of Barksted's *Mahomet*. Aside from Shakespeare's plays, Brewer found the most prominent contemporary staging of Hercules in Heywood's *The Silver* and *Brazen Ages*. Rather than being coherent plays representing a morally decaying history of mankind through interwoven plots, *The Silver* and *Brazen Ages* are a spectacular series of one-act playlets stitched together by the narrator figure of Homer, who guides the audience through the quickly changing mythological world of ancient Greece. This loosely Ovidian structure is interrupted by a periodical resurfacing of Hercules' story. In *The Silver Age*, we learn of Hercules' conception, birth, and his first adventures, including his descent into Hades. In *The Brazen Age*, act V, 'The Labours and death of Hercules', which mainly focuses on the hero's servitude to Omphale and his subsequent death on mount Oeta, is of particular significance for our discussion of *The Lovesick King*.

If in *1* and *2 Hercules*, performed in the 1590s by the Admiral's Men, the majority of the hero's labours were actually acted out on stage, as Heywood's comments in the

[498] Ibid., IV.iii; see in particular Richard Hillman's revision of Coates' arguments in 'Antony, Hercules, and Cleopatra', pp. 445–51.

Apology suggest, the exact opposite is true for *The Brazen Age*. In act V, the labours are not concurrently performed, but recounted and celebrated by Greek heroes, who hope that reminding Hercules of his former glorious deeds might help him realize his wantonness and abandon the Lydian Queen. Heywood's multiple departures from his sources in staging the Omphale episode have already been noted, but no attention has been given to the addition of the Greek lords' conspicuous intervention.[499] Ancient sources generally agree that Hercules' servitude to Omphale was a punishment for his murder of Iphitus and simply ended after the hero had atoned for his deed.[500] Heywood's long poem *Troia Britannica*, published in 1609, which was clearly an important source for *The Golden Age*, ignores Omphale's enslavement of Hercules and does not inform Heywood's treatment of the story in *The Brazen Age*.[501] Instead, the intervention of the lords stems from other contemporary sources on Hercules' life, such as Caxton's translation of Raoul Lefèvre's *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troy* (1st ed. 1473) and William Warner's *Albion's England* (1st ed. 1586), which conflate the story of Omphale with that of Iole. In Lefèvre, it is Deianira's passionate letter to her husband, brought to him by her servant Lichas, which causes Hercules to repent. The letter is clearly Ovidian in origin and in Lefèvre, just as in the ninth book of *Heroides*, Deianira is at pains to demonstrate the discrepancy between the hero's mighty labours of the past and his late degeneracy.[502] Heywood too conflates the stories of Ompahle and Iole, for Hercules' servitude is clearly a consequence of the hero's own amorous passions, not a punishment for murder.[503] Moreover, since reading letters on stage can be a tedious business, Heywood

[499] Rowland, *Killing Hercules*, pp. 134–36.
[500] In Sophocles this happened after one year, see *The Women of Trachis*, 248–53; Apollodorus talks of three years, see *The Library*, II.2–3; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, IV.31.5–8.
[501] Allan Holaday, Heywood's *Troia Britannica* and the *Ages'*, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 45/4 (1946), 430–39 (p. 434).
[502] Cf. Raoul Lefèvre, *The Ancient Historie of the Destruction of Troy […] Translated out of French into English, by W. Caxton. Newly corrected, and the English much amended. By William Fiston* (London, 1607), pp. 416–19; Ovid, *Heroides*, IX.
[503] In *Women of Trachis*, Lichas is trying to convince Deianira that '[n]o resentment should attach to the story' of Hercules' enslavement by Omphale 'since Zeus is known to be responsible' for it (250–51).

invented an intervention by Greek lords, which had already featured prominently in previous episodes of the play. Before departing for Omphale's court, Jason and his companions meet with Deianira, who delivers to them 'the Trophies of the twelue labours' to aid them in their quest.[504] The twelve labours are no longer simply a rhetorical device confined to the pages of the letter, but feature as proper theatrical devices. The delivered eulogy should therefore more appropriately be understood as a pageant of the labours of Hercules, since they are physically present on stage in the form of trophies, which undoubtedly adhered to the labours' well-established iconographic tradition.

In a brilliantly concise act, Heywood kills many birds with one stone. Not only does he conflate Omphale and Iole, but by rewriting Deianira's letter as an exhortative pageant of trophies he simultaneously represents all of the twelve labours on stage and demonstrates the didactic power of theatre. He claims in the *Apology* that 'in his nonage' Hercules was treated to a historical play 'acted by the choyse of the nobility of Greece' in which 'the worthy and memorable acts of his father *Iupiter*' were presented.[505] Now, effeminized by Omphale, Hercules has returned to his 'nonage',[506] only to be swayed again towards reason and virtue, not by a representation of Jove's deeds, but his own. Moreover, Hercules' decision to discard female garments and return to his old ways clearly presents an opportunity for Heywood to allude to the famous choice the hero has made many years ago at the crossroads:

> Come we will shake off this effeminacy
>
> And by our deeds repurchase our renowne.

[504] Thomas Heywood, *The Brazen Age* (London: Okes, 1613), sig. I4^{r}.
[505] Heywood, *An Apology*, sig. B3^{r}.
[506] Lefèvre's Deianira conveniently juxtaposes Hercules' crushing of snakes in his cradle with his present state by concluding: 'You being a childe were a man, and now when you haue beene a man, are you become a woman, or a childe?' (*The ancient historie*, p. 418).

Iason and you braue Greekes, I know you now,

And in your honours I behold my selfe

What I haue bene, hence Strumpet *Omphale*,

I cast thee off, and once more will resume

My natiue vertues […][507]

On the preceding pages, the reference to the motif of the Choice of Hercules is further strengthened by Jason's repeated invocation of Deianira's name, which like a charm repeatedly awakens Hercules from deep oblivious slumber. Eventually, Jason explicitly juxtaposes Deianira and Omphale as Virtue and Pleasure, which pushes Hercules to finally choose his wife:

'Twas she that made *Alcides* womanish,

But *Deianeira* to be more then man.

For thy wiues sake thou art renown'd in *Greece*,

This Strumpet hath made *Greece* forget thee quite,

And scarce remember there was such a man.

[…] Shall a Strumpet

Do this vpon the *Theban Hercules*?

And *Deyaneira*, faire, chast absolute

In all perfections, liue despis'd in *Thebes*?[508]

[507] *The Brazen Age*, sig. K3^{r}.
[508] Ibid., sigs. K2^{v}–K3^{r}.

Unlike the classical myth, the servitude of Heywood's Hercules would not have ended without the intervention of the Greek lords and Hercules' renewed rejection of effeminizing pleasures.

Although Heywood's reworking of the story of Hercules and Omphale 'breedeth both delight and laughter',[509] its moral seriousness being diluted particularly due to Jason's deliberate failure to recognize Hercules in a dress and Omphale's chiding of the meek transvestite hero, it was most certainly a model for Brewer's much graver representation of Canutus' choice. In *The Lovesick King*, Canutus' captains, particularly Huldrick, repeatedly challenge their monarch, trying to persuade him to end the tyranny of lust; in the same way, Hercules' comrades, led by Jason, attempt to reclaim the famed hero from Omphale's slavery. Just as Huldrick is trying to sway Canutus by invoking his honourable martial deeds so Hercules' previous labours and honour of 'braue Greekes' is meant to dissuade Alcides from attending his distaff. In both cases, the Prodicean structure of Virtue-Hercules-Vice is reproduced: in *The Lovesick King* as Danish lords-Canutus-Cartesmunda and in *The Brazen Age* as Greek lords-Hercules-Omphale. Equally revealing are the dynamics of the dialogue. Although both Pleasure figures are mainly silent, they manage to temporarily arrest the reformation of their lovers with only a few words: 'Alcides heare me' and 'What will Canutus do?'.[510] Both Hercules and Canutus are bewitched, existing in a slumberous state governed by affections, to which the voices of their lovers struggle to confine them. The speeches of Greek and Danish lords instead appeal to their reason, attempting to awake their self-awareness. Brewer is of course dramatizing his primary source, the story of Sultan Mahomet the Great and the fair Greek Hiren, but the dramaturgy of the scene is indebted to Heywood.

[509] *The Defence of Poesie*, pp. 39–40.
[510] *The Brazen Age*, sig. K2^{v}; *The Lovesick King*, IV.iv.84.

4.3 The Love Emblematics of Otto Vaenius

In Vaenius' *Amorum emblemata*, which almost singlehandedly initiated the European-wide vogue for love emblematics, the positive interpretations of Hercules' submission to Cupid are the norm. Otto Vaenius (1556–1629), born to Catholic parents in the Protestant Leiden, was a Dutch painter, draughtsman, and humanist. In 1572, his family was forced to leave the United Provinces due to their support of the Catholic cause and settled in the Spanish Netherlands. Otto, who had already begun studying painting with the Leiden master Isaac Swanenburgh (1537–1614), received a rigorous humanist education at the court of Prince Bishop Gerard van Groesbeek in Liège, where he studied under the humanist and painter Dominicus Lampsonius (1532–1599). After sojourns in Italy and at various aristocratic courts across the Continent, Vaenius settled in Antwerp and became the city's leading painter, attracting the patronage of the Archduke and Duchess Albrecht and Isabella. In 1594, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) famously became Vaenius' pupil and, after returning from Italy in 1608, swiftly overshadowed his former master. Anticipating his demise as a painter, Vaenius shifted his career towards designing and printing of books. His timely career change culminated in a trio of vastly influential emblem books: *Qvinti Horati Flacci emblemata* or *Emblemata Horatiana* (1607), *Amorum emblemata*, and *Amoris divini emblemata* (1615).[511]

The 124 emblems of *Amorum emblemata*, the book that is of most interest to us, were published in three polyglot editions: the first (A) included Latin, Dutch, and French verses, the second (B) Latin, French, and Italian, and the third (C) Latin, English, and Italian.[512]

[511] For details on Vaenius' life and work I rely on Karel Porteman's 'Introduction' in Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, ed. by Karel Porteman (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 1–21; and Simon McKeown, 'Introduction: Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books', in *Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books*, ed. by Simon McKeown (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2012), pp. ix–xxxvi.

[512] Porteman, 'Introduction', pp. 4–7; Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, p. 524. A single copy of B edition exists, which includes Spanish epigrams.

Simultaneously producing three editions in multiple languages called for a massive collaborative effort, which clearly reflects Vaenius' ambition to access a wider international market.[513] Each oval engraving, apart from one, is dominated by a sweet curly-haired Cupid, who can figure either as a personification of a lover, an embodiment of a particular aspect of love, or as a powerful external force itself. Now and then he is paired with another Cupid; often he interacts with his beloved or other allegorical and mythological figures. Facing the illustrations on the right, the verso pages contain mottoes and epigrams. If in Vaenius' first emblem book, inspired by Lipsian Stoicism, the images and mottoes were designed in dialogue with Horace's poetry, *Amorum emblemata* uses amorous maxims which often, although not exclusively, derive from Ovid.[514] The two works therefore contrast each other and exist in a subtle philosophical dialogue between Stoic and Epicurean propensities. In fact, Vaenius, being in his early fifties at the time of the publication of *Amorum emblemata* and known to have recently treated serious matter in *Horatiana,* felt compelled to justify the new light-hearted book, which abounds in dainty Cupids, by prefacing it with a convenient fiction about how he had designed these love emblems many years ago in his youth.[515]

To ensure the circulation of the edition with English epigrams in England itself, Vaenius, instead of presenting the volume to William of Bavaria (d. 1657), Freiherr of Höllinghofen, whose name had appeared on the two previous editions, now shrewdly dedicated it to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630), and his brother Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery (1584–1650), the two great literary patrons of their time.[516] He

[513] Economic reasons only partly justify Vaenius' internationalism; on the importance of multilingualism and principles of *copia* and *variatio* in Vaenius' emblematic technique see Tina Montone, 'Cupid in the Ouroboros, the Disconsolate Alembic and Other Matters: The *Amorum Emblemata* (1608) from a New Perspective', in *Otto Vaenius and his Emblem Books,* ed. by McKeown, pp. 55–72.
[514] For source analysis of *Amorum emblemata* see Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, pp. 100–17; Peter M. Daly et al. (eds.), *The English Emblem Tradition Vol. 4* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 115–248; see *Emblem Project Utrecht: Dutch Love Emblems of the Seventeenth Century* (http://emblems.let.uu.nl/).
[515] McKeown, 'Introduction', p. xxiv; Porteman, 'Introduction', p. 5.
[516] Porteman, 'Introduction', p. 7–8.

was assisted in his venture by Richard Rowlands Verstegan (1550–1640), an Anglo-Dutch Catholic dissident, who shared both Vaenius' erudition and a fate of religious exile. Verstegan not only adapted Vaenius' epigrams into English, but probably also translated the dedication to the Herberts and 'Cupids epistle to the yonger sorte', a prefatory letter in verse ventriloquizing Cupid.[517]

Cupid's whimsical epistle, which invites the youth to marry and procreate while there is time and not fruitlessly disdain love, conspicuously resembles Shakespeare's procreation sonnets, as Mario Praz first noticed.[518] But aside from articulating the commonplaces of its time, it also offers valuable information on its target audience, which is summarized in a postscript-sonnet to the epistle:

> This book for childrens view hath not intended been,
>
> Nor yet for aged men who rather do deuyse,
>
> On honor, virtue, welth, or to bee demed wyse.
>
> All thease for such as they are heer not to bee seen.
>
> Loues fassion and his trade how hee with youth proceeds,
>
> What meanes hee vseth moste in acting louers deeds.
>
> His passions and his paynes, his bitter and his sweet,
>
> His constancie and troth his virtues most esteemed.
>
> His power, his warre & peace, & els what may bee deemed,
>
> The yonger sorte may see, in all occasions meet.[519]

[517] The identity of Verstegan as collaborator was first established by Samuel C. Chew, 'Richard Verstegen and the *Amorum Emblemata* of Otho van Veen', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 8/2 (1945), 192–99.
[518] Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, pp. 115–17.
[519] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, sig. (:)4r.

Firstly, a stark distinction is made between the interests of mature men and the youth. *Amorum emblemata*'s celebration of secular love is made trivial in the face of more serious pursuits, which Vaenius had in fact already considered in his Neo-Stoic *Horatiana*. But although moral-philosophical issues count more, loves' trade is not to be mistaken for utter frippery.

Amorum emblemata's frontispiece immediately sets the Neoplatonic tone of the book. It depicts Cupid and Venus triumphantly descending from heaven in a dove-drawn chariot. The whole creation around them, including the sun and moon, is governed by love: all are pierced by Cupid's arrows. The motto, 'Pro quanta potentia regni est Venus alma tui' [O mother Venus, how mighty is thy sway], is Ovidian, but the *subscriptio* is a paraphrase of verses from Seneca's *Phaedra*.[520] For Vaenius, whose *Horatiana* constantly echoes Neo-Stoic values and has been described as his homage to his recently deceased friend, the great humanist and Neo-Stoic thinker Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), the reference to Seneca is essential.[521] It provides the necessary *gravitas* to the book and, juxtaposing it with Ovid, prepares us for its Neoplatonic paradoxical way of thinking: love is a formidable force, which needs to be both restrained by reason and recognised as natural inevitability. Therefore, the purpose of love emblems is not only practical, by guiding lovers towards a good and fruitful love life through the maze of Cupid's tricks, passions, virtues, and most importantly power, but also philosophical, for the correct response to amorous affections also entails acknowledgement of love's role in the heavenly order:

> Obedience vnto mee [Cupid] importes not anie blame,

[520] See *Metamorphoses*, XIII.758–59; *Phaedra*, 334–353.
[521] McKeown, 'Introduction', p. xx.

Since all comaunding will ordayneth so the same.

My vnrestrayned force to all that moue & liue,

A lust to procreate, moste liberally doth giue.[522]

Although *Amorum emblemata*, labelled as light entertainment, had earned the panegyrists' appreciation mainly for its aesthetic qualities and practical advice on courting, rather than its philosophical accomplishments, it takes Neoplatonism seriously.

The fact that seven years after the publication of *Amorum emblemata*, Vaenius 'converted' many of the original emblems to be included in *Amoris divini emblemata* is a testament to their pliability, latent polysemy, and potential to convey deeper, mystical truths. In the emblems on divine love, Vaenius claimed to follow a suggestion of Archduchess Isabella, who was curious to know whether his amorous emblems could be usefully transposed to a spiritual level by considering God's love for humanity instead.[523] The figure of Cupid, so omnipresent in *Amorum emblemata*, was swapped for Amor Divinus and, more importantly, paired with Anima, represented in a form of a little girl. Throughout sixty emblems, Divine Love protects, instructs, and guides the Soul on its ascent towards God. Although the book may be read in the context of Counter-Reformation mysticism, particularly its more feminine form epitomized by Teresa of Ávila, it does not always follow the traditional divisions of the mystical path (purification, illumination, and unification).[524] More often it offers guidance on purely practical forms of Christian piety: divine love teaches virtue (in 'Amor rectus'), constancy and steadfastness (in 'Constans est', 'Amor docet', 'A

[522] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, sig. (:)2r.
[523] McKeown, 'Introduction', p. xxviii; Porteman, 'Introduction', p. 3.
[524] Anne Buschhoff, *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen. Die Amorum Emblemata (1608) und die Amoris Divini Emblemata (1615)* (Bremen: Hauschild, 2004), pp. 139–40; Margit Thøfner, '"Let Your Desire Be to See God": Teresian Mysticism and Otto Van Veen's *Amoris Divini Emblemata*', *Emblematica* 12 (2002), 83–104; Peter Boot, 'Similar or Dissimilar Loves? *Amoris Divini Emblemata* and its Relation to *Amorum Emblemata*', in McKeown (ed.), *Otto Vaenius*, 157–73 (pp. 165–67).

malo tuetur'), promotes charity and good works (in 'In spiritu seminat', 'Facit munificum', 'Amor aedificat'), and rejects earthly riches (in 'Amore thesaurus carissimus', 'Omnia spernit').[525] The immense importance of Vaenius' divine emblems for Counter-Reformation culture can further be measured by its influence on Jesuit emblematics, especially Hugo Hermannus' *Pia desideria* (1624), one of the most widely read and distributed religious books in the seventeenth century.[526] An early English example of the trans-confessional influence of Vaenius' and Jesuit love emblematics would be Francis Quarles' *Emblems* (1635).

Scholars have recently stressed the originality of *Amoris divini emblemata*. In spite of Vaenius' claim that he was simply rewriting old emblems on secular love, more than half of spiritual emblems, particularly those with more orthodox religious meaning accompanied by biblical and patristic quotations, have no counterpart in *Amorum emblemata* and at times even contradict it by arguing against the benefits of natural love.[527] And yet the emblems on divine love are not a palinode to their secular predecessors, but rather form their natural complement and continuation. *Amorum emblemata*, too, vigorously dissociates itself from adulterous sensuous passion in order to celebrate constant chaste love, which 'the ioyes of heauen proue'.[528] Although amorous love is not condemned or moralized as a base and destructive force even when causing excruciating pain or humiliation, such suffering is nevertheless hermeneutically contained and subjected to the positive ethical ideals of constancy and charity, which a true lover must display to obtain and keep his beloved.[529]

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[525] Arnoud Visser, 'Commonplaces of Catholic Love. Otto van Veen, Michael Hoyer and St Augustine Between Humanism and the Counter Reformation', in Els Stronks and Peter Boot (eds.), *Proceedings of the Emblem Project Utrecht Conference on Dutch Love Emblems and the Internet, November 2006* (The Hague: DANS Symposium Publications, 2007), pp. 33–48 (pp. 39–40); Vaenius, *Amorum divini emblemata*, pp. 14–15, 22–25, 48–51, 54–55, 76–79, 98–99.

[526] Buschhoff, *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen*, pp. 263–67.

[527] For detailed comparative studies see Boot, 'Similar or Dissimilar Loves?'; Buschhoff, *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen*.

[528] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, sig. (:)4r.

[529] See 'Qui Desinere Potest, Numquam Verus Fuit' ('Loue in enduring death') and 'Telorum Silva Pectus' ('Without ceasing'), in Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 184–85, 214–15.

Moreover, secular love is elevated not only because God's 'comaunding will ordayneth' its existence, but also because it actually functions as a spiritual force engendering virtuous deeds and contemplation of heavenly order.[530] The notion that secular love leads to moral and spiritual accomplishment is consistently present and particularly noticeable in *Amorum emblemata*'s use of Herculean imagery.

There are five emblems, which explicitly allude to Herculean topoi. For two, which have already been mentioned, their relevance is only tangential: as in Peacham, in 'Atlante Maior' and 'Nulli cupiat cessisse labori', Cupid's greater power is constructed in relation to Hercules' labours. However, in 'Virtutis radix amor' ('Loue is the cause of virtue') (fig. 8), 'Virtute duce' ('Virtue the guyd of loue') (fig. 9), and 'Amor addocet artes' ('Loue is the schoolmaster of artes') (fig. 10), the reliance on Herculean imagery is far more complex and intriguing.[531] In these emblems, both Cupid and Hercules are depicted simultaneously in their easily recognizable forms, interacting with each other in a manner prefiguring the normative interaction of Amor Divinus and Anima, which permeates *Amoris divini emblemata*.

'Virtutis radix amor' depicts Hercules with a lion's skin and a club triumphantly towering over the vanquished Hydra. The composition is reminiscent of Toussaint's portrait of Henri IV as Hercules slaying the Lernaean beast or Hercules in Vaenius' own emblem

[530] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, sig. (:)2r.
[531] Ibid., pp. 32–33, 52–53, 200–01.

Fig. 8. ‘Virtutis radix Amor’ from Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), p. 33.

‘Post mortem cessat invidia’ from *Emblemata Horatiana*.[532] However, in the love emblem, Hercules has been wounded by Cupid’s dart and now experiences a degree of pain or rather ‘il dolce ardore’, sweet passion, which is clearly indebted to Love’s sting, not to the strain of his labour.[533] Cupid himself, who has conquered the conqueror and in fact caused Hercules to perform the worthy deed, is positioned on the left side of the hero, carrying a bow and cheekily reaching after another arrow. In the distance, behind Hercules, we can discern a hill topped with a temple, which signifies the dwelling place of Virtue. Far from attempting to ironize the image with a reference to Ovid, Vaenius pairs it with two paraphrases of Plato and Cicero, neither of whom, as Simonds rightly points out, argue for any real benefits of sensual love.[534] Love is conceived as a Neoplatonic force leading towards real virtue,

[532] See Cécile Scailliérez, ‘Le “mensonger et l’impudique”: A propos d’un singulier portrait d’Henri IV peint dans l’entourage de Toussaint Dubreuil’, *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 53/1 (2003), 37–47; Vaenius, *Qvinti Horatii Flacci emblemata* (Antwerp, 1612), pp.172–73.
[533] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 32.
[534] Simonds, ‘The Herculean Lover’, p. 704.

mitigating 'the frigidity which the Stoic', the self-conquering Hercules at the crossroads, 'mistakes for virtue':[535] 'Anima immersa corpori, Amoris expergiscitur stimulis: & hinc primi ad honesta impetus capiuntur' (Immersed in the body, the soul awakes by Love's stings; and from this the first moves towards honourable deeds are taken).[536] Richard Verstegan reiterates the same conclusions, carefully blending the two quotations:

> Moste great and woorthie deeds had neuer bin atchyued,
>
> If in respect of loue they had not bin begunne,
>
> Loues victorie hath made more victories bee wonne,
>
> From loue-bred virtue then thus were they first deryued.[537]

The theme continues in 'Virtute duce', but the demonstration of sheer force is supplanted by friendly cooperation between Hercules and Cupid (fig. 9). Engraved again in his habitual garb, Hercules is paternally guiding Cupid towards virtue; unsurprisingly, the emblem's motto derives from Cicero's letter to young Plancus.[538] The pair are depicted looking affectionately at each other moving from left to right; they are leaving a town settled in the valley in order to take a steep arduous road towards virtue. The image conflates numerous topoi. Simonds has noticed its indebtedness to the motif of the Education of Cupid and, more importantly, to the Choice of Hercules.[539] Moreover, I would like to suggest that Vaenius is in fact reworking a derivative of the crossroads motif, which usually depicts Virtue/Minerva leading a Herculean figure, who has already made his choice, through the steep path of

[535] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, p. 141.
[536] Vaenius, *Amorum Emblemata*, p. 32.
[537] Ibid., p. 32.
[538] Cicero, *Letters to Friends*, X.3.2; Simonds, 'The Herculean Lover', pp. 707–08.
[539] Simonds, 'The Herculean Lover', pp. 706–08.

Fig. 9. ‘Virtute duce’ from from Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), p. 53.

virtue; such is, for example, Vaenius’ own engraved portrait of Alessandro Farnese (1545–1592), Duke of Parma, as Hercules (fig. 10).[540] Another influential version of the motif appeared on the frontispiece of the 1649 Latin edition of Diego de Saavedra Fajardo’s *Idea de un príncipe politico cristiano*, the most influential Jesuit emblem book on political theory, in which Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662) is represented as crushing the Hydra of heresy under his feet whilst being guided by Hercules along the steep path of virtue towards the temple of Honour.[541] In Vaenius’ emblem, Hercules similarly takes the position of a guide, which was normally assigned to the goddess, while Cupid replaces Hercules

[540] Cf. Jan Muller after Bartholomeus Spranger, BM, 1853,0312.57. See also Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, p. 180; and Polleroß, ‘From the *exemplum virtutis* to the Apotheosis’, pp. 43–44.
[541] Polleroß, ‘From the *exemplum virtutis* to the Apotheosis’, pp. 44–45; Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un príncipe politico cristiano*, ed. by Enrique Suárez Figaredo, in *Lemir: Revista de Literatura Española Medieval y del Renacimento*, 20 (2016), pp. 519–968, 539. Cf. Edmund H. Dickerman and Anita M. Walker, ‘The Choice of Hercules: Henry IV as Hero’, *The Historical Journal*, 39/2 (1996), 315–37 for the lost painting of Henri IV following Hercules towards the temple of virtue.

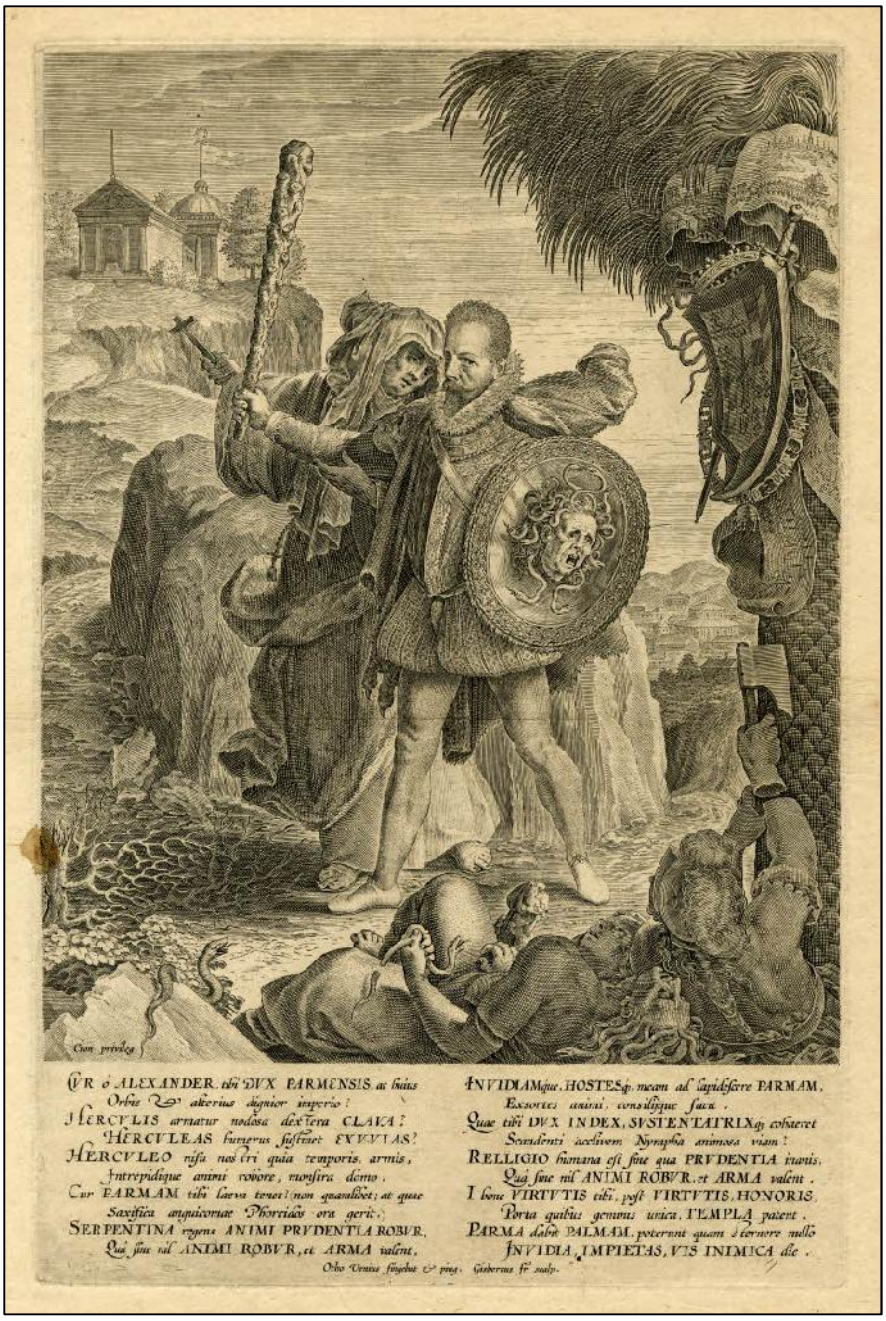

Fig. 10. *Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, as Hercules Choosing the Path of Virtue*, Gijsbert van Veen after Otto Vaenius, c. 1580–1628. The British Museum, 1857,0214.413.

himself as the one making the choice. Again we see Cupid performing a Herculean labour, although this time not in order to surpass the hero's achievements, as is the case in Peacham's 'Maior Hercule', but rather to follow his sound instruction:

> Hercules leadeth loue and loue thereby doth gayn,
>
> Great cowrage to performe what-so loues dutie byndes,
>
> For loue by virtue led no difficultie fyndes,

To vndergo for loue attempts of anie paynes.[542]

This time, the epigram's moral is less general than in 'Virtutis radix amor' and more immediately associated with a lover's practical duties towards his beloved. However, Verstegan's language is conveniently open and undetermined, so that the reference to courting can easily be interpreted as allegorized political practice. Since the iconography of the Choice of Hercules has migrated from political and moral-philosophical discourse to amorous discourse, it would have been hard for early-modern readers to contain its scope and interpret it solely as a lesson for lovers. Of course the emblem's wit and ingenuity depend precisely on Cupid's incongruous and pretentious appropriation of political iconography, but it would nevertheless be a mistake to rigorously limit its interpretative openness. Not only lovers, but princes too should, by following the paragon of heroic virtue, gain courage to perform their rightful duties towards their subjects and 'vndergo for loue attempts of anie paynes', for 'Laus est, cùm virtus dux in Amore praeit' (it is praiseworthy when virtue leads in Love).[543]

The last emblem presenting the Herculean lover, 'Amor addocet artes', returns us to the story of Hercules and Omphale (fig. 11). If, in the previous emblem, Hercules acted as Love's guide, imparting on the boy his lesson on Virtue, we now see Cupid in the position of authority, schooling the hero in the merits of Pleasure. The image depicts an interior space, in which Hercules, sitting on a stool, spins wool whilst tightly gripping the distaff with his legs. He is accompanied by Cupid, who teaches the hero how to sing from a printed music book. Although Hercules' club, which now lies abandoned on the floor, has been substituted for a distaff, the hero is not completely effeminized, as in Peacham's 'Vis Amoris', but

[542] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 52.
[543] Ibid., p. 52.

remains clad in his lion's skin.[544] Hercules' submission to Love does not entail his moral degradation or loss of honour, but is rather interpreted as an ennobling and refining process. Platonic love inspires Hercules to practise art and reconnect with heavenly beauty. 'The aggressive passion' normally associated with distaff Hercules 'is directed here into an artistic form by Love and restrained from excess by a proper musical measure'.[545] The Platonic Herculean lover abolishes the discrete antithesis of Virtue and Pleasure and instead reconciles them through artistic appreciation of beauty.

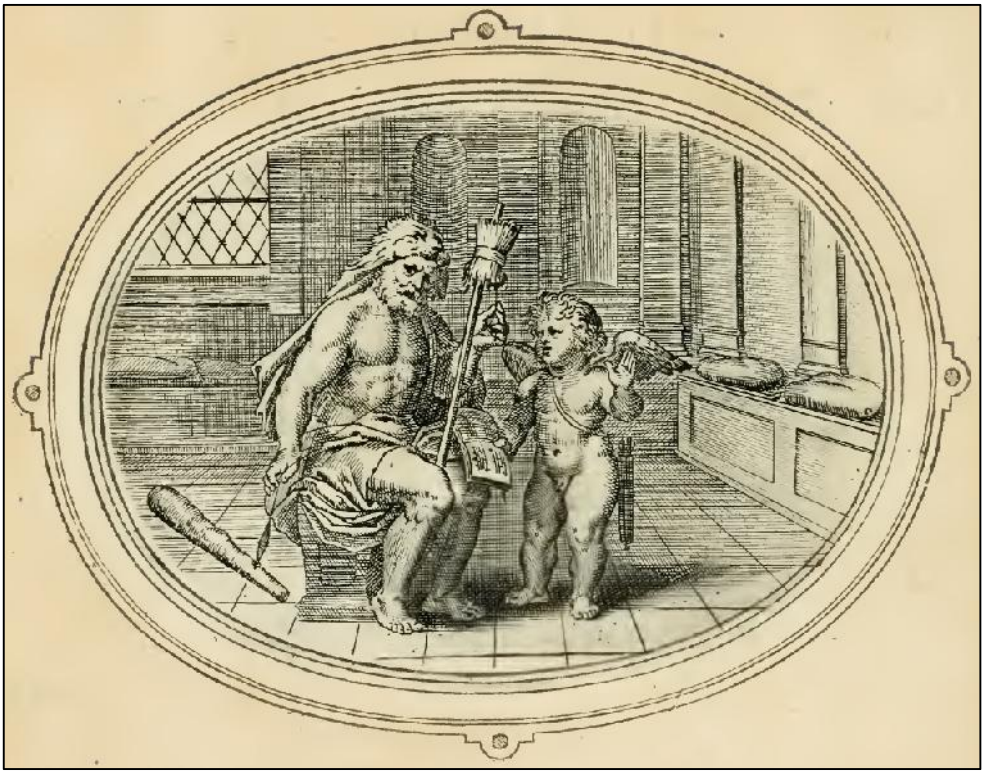

Fig. 11. 'Amor addocet artes' from Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), p. 83.

The Choice of Hercules and Hercules and Omphale are two closely related mythological motifs, whose interpretations depended on the tension between the demands of heroic identity and submission to pleasures of love.[546] However, in Neoplatonic interpretations of the motifs, the two narratives would be read collectively in order to deepen

[544] Simonds, 'The Herculean Lover', p. 709.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Cf. Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, pp. 63–79, 143–44.

their respective moral lessons. The juxtaposition of the two motifs in such a context would ease Hercules' Stoic heroism, which had been established on the crossroads, and express a new truth about the relationship between reason and desire, a truth which Hercules only learned towards the end of his life. This esoteric knowledge conveyed to Hercules by love, which harmoniously unifies the antithetic lessons of Prodicean and distaff Hercules, found its expression in a third Renaissance *topos*, the reconciliation of Pleasure to Virtue.[547] The end of the conflict established by Prodicus' parable would often find its iconographic expression in the story of the unlawful union of Mars and Venus.[548] Although the disarming of Mars also features in Vaenius, the emblematist is particularly interested in rewriting Hercules himself in light of the reconciliation mystery. More importantly for us, Brewer's *The Lovesick King* shares this complex coexistence of contradictory Herculean motifs, which form the marrow of *Amorum emblemata*. The abundance of parallels between Vaenius' love emblems and Brewer's play are in fact so conspicuous, that it is hard to imagine the dramatist being unfamiliar with his emblem books. Although it is notoriously difficult to prove authors' indebtedness to particular emblems due to the reliance of emblematists on commonplaces and the culture of appropriation and cross-fertilization, *Amorum emblemata* and *Amoris divini emblemata*, which owe a great deal to Vaenius' inventiveness, ought to be considered as a direct sources for at least some of Brewer's dramatic conceits.[549]

4.4 Choosing Pleasure

Brewer's iterations of the Choice of Hercules are not explicit and superficial, but well assimilated to dramatic action. Hercules and the two allegorical figures he meets at the

[547] Cf. Simonds, 'The Herculean Lover', p. 710.
[548] See Homer, *Odyssey*, XIII.266–369.
[549] In assessing Vaenius' innovation and influence I heavily rely on online digitised emblem catalogues such as *Emblem Project Utrecht* (http://emblems.let.uu.nl/) and *Glasgow University Emblem Website* (http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/).

crossroads are entirely replaced by characters from English Anglo-Saxon history. Simultaneously identifying and acknowledging that central qualities of Brewer's characters relate to the allegory of Hercules' choice helps us appreciate and understand some of the play's erratic plot twists. Angelic Elgina and worldly Cartesmunda are imbued with features of Virtue and Pleasure respectively. Their allurements and promises, as narrated in *Memorabilia* and other sources, are translated into dramatic action and correspond to the pleasures and trials endured by Canutus and Alured as their respective followers. Consequently, Alured and Canutus embody the morality and political practice agreeing with the antithetical choices tendered to Hercules at the crossroads. Although Alured and Canutus have in fact already made their Herculean choices before appearing on stage, their opposing morality keeps being dramatically tested and challenged throughout the play. Brewer encourages the audience to compare, contrast, and judge their conduct in order to recognize good kingship, but also to identify the emblematic structure, which was probably enhanced through the visual elements of performance, such as costume and painted hangings.

Intriguingly, the Banquet of the Sense, which is central to Vice's seduction of Hercules in the original narrative, is initially employed in the play by Canutus to charm Cartesmunda:

> Go, let those Jewels, Cates, perfumes and Musick,
>
> Be all produc'd together in one sense.
>
> Unite all raptures, let's have nothing scant,
>
> That she may taste at once, what all Queens want.
>
> Strike heavenly Musick, with a tuneful measure,

And with thy raptures swell her blood and pleasure.[550]

The notion of the banquet as a structured articulation of Pleasure's sensuous temptations originates in the parable of the Choice of Hercules.[551] However, its Renaissance literary tradition also relies on Christian sources, such as 1 Corinthians 10.[552] Like Circe's cup, Kermode explains, 'the natural temptations of the senses as represented in a banquet of sense serve to distinguish clearly between men who aspire to Heroic Virtue (or to the love of God) and men who sink into bestiality, preferring the creature to the Creator'.[553] It became a pervasive literary motif in the Renaissance. Kermode, tracing its presence in early modern English literature, discovered some of its more elaborate articulations in Chapman's *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* (1595), Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593), *Timon of Athens* (1605–06), the *Sonnets* (1609), and Ben Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601) and late play *The New Inn* (1629).[554]

As a Herculean motif, the Banquet of Sense was occasionally appended to other stories associated with the life of Hercules. In act II of Thomas Heywood's *The Silver Age* (1613), essentially an adaptation of Plautus' *Amphitryon*, Heywood included a banquet prepared by Alcmene for Jove, who visits her home disguised as her husband, Amphitryon.[555] Alcmene's banquet differs from the banquet of Pleasure because its significance lies not in seducing Jupiter, who is already more than willing to share Alcmene's bed, but in humorously highlighting the difference between the glamorous reception prepared for the disguised god and a cold shower received by the real Amphitryon.

[550] *The Lovesick King*, II.iv.5–10.
[551] *Memorabilia*, II.1.24; cf. Visscher's engraving of Hercules at the crossroads (BM, 1937,0915.418), where an image of orgiastic banquet is placed above the figure of Vice.
[552] J. F. Kermode, 'The Banquet of Sense', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 44/1 (1961), 68–99 (p. 69).
[553] Kermode, 'The Banquet of Sense', p. 71.
[554] Ibid..
[555] *The Silver Age*, sig. C4^{r-v}.

The most likely direct source of Canutus' banquet is William Barksted's poem *Hiren*, which is the main source for Brewer's romantic plot.[556] In the original story of Mahomet the Great and the beautiful Hiren, there is no mention of a banquet, but as a theatre man, Barksted probably knew George Peele's now regrettably lost play, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek* (c. 1594), which may have included it.[557] Whereas Barksted's synesthetic banquet only takes place after Hiren has been won by Mahomet, Brewer uses it to a much greater dramatic effect at the climactic moment of Canutus' seduction and Cartesmunda's final subjugation.[558] Brewer also avoids using a kiss as a method of Cartesmunda's 'conversion', which Barksted employed in his poem, because of its Neoplatonic undertones. '[T]he most perfect and intimate union the lover can have with the celestial beloved[,] the union of the kiss', is instead reserved for the true Platonic lovers of the play, Alured and Elgina.[559] After the nun has been conquered by the banquet which has stimulated her hearing, sight, taste, and smell, she immediately joins Canutus in bed to enjoy the sense of touch. Afterwards, the couple jointly relishes the excessive idleness and decadent stimulation of the senses, which reaffirms Canutus's discipleship of Pleasure.

Canutus' wooing of Cartesmunda is therefore constructed as a gender-inverted version of Prodicean parable, which facilitates the nun's transformation from Virtue to Vice. This development is anticipated by the abbot of St. Swithin's in act I, when he warns the 'bright illustrious Maid' Cartesmunda to remain constant during the Danish raid, for 'Vertue is Vice unless it do persever, / That is true Holiness that lasts for ever'. [560] Up till now, Cartesmunda is still an image of Virtue, willing to keep her vow and be martyred by the

[556] William Barksted, *Hiren or the faire Greeke* (London: Barnes, 1611), 74.5–79.8.
[557] Cf. A. H. Bullen (ed.), *The Works of George Peele* (London: Nimmo, 1888), pp. 1:xxxvii, 2:394–96; for a comprehensive discussion, see www.lostplays.org s.v. 'The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek'.
[558] Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 180–81.
[559] Pico della Mirandola, *Commento*, III.viii, quoted in Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, p. 155; cf. Pietro Bembo's speech on Platonic love and importance of the kiss in Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*; *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.94–105.
[560] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.10–13.

sacrilegious Danes. But when she is later tempted by Canutus' carnal persuasions, bewitched by the synaesthetic banquet, she yields and embraces her own opposition. As we know, it is Elgina instead, whose unfortunate death transforms her into an image of holiness and eternal chaste love.

Canutus' wooing of Cartesmunda is of course indebted to Barksted's *Hiren* and in part perhaps echoing the antagonism of Angelo and Isabella in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, but in as far as it represents a refashioning of the Herculean motif, it is not unlike Vaenius' emblem 'Conscientia Testis' (conscience is a witness) (fig. 12).[561] The emblem's engraving depicts Anima on the crossroads between Amor Divinus on her right and Amor Saeculi on her left. The former stands erected with a cross and a globe underfoot, whereas the latter is depicted bent, and tightly embracing the world. Anima is about to prick herself with Cupid's arrow in order to test whether she is truly chaste or dishonest, whether she really desires heavenly Jerusalem, towering on a hill above Divine Love, or whether she will fall prey to worldly Babylon, veiled in black smoke behind Secular Love. Cartesmunda faces the same test: she will either remain chaste and resist Canutus or break her vow of virginity and give in to worldly pleasure. In spite of her previous protestations, she cracks and chooses the easy path of Secular Love, ironically discovering her true identity inscribed in her name: she is a negative example of female Catholic spirituality, who instead of rejecting the world becomes *carta mundi*, the map or pattern of the world.[562]

[561] Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata*, pp. 110–11. Cf. Buschhoff, *Die Liebesemblematik des Otto van Veen*, p. 234.
[562] Cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 296. Before winning her, Canutus himself paraphrases the meaning of Cartesmunda's name as 'worlds bright frame' (*The Lovesick King*, I.iii.148).

In act IV, Brewer's appropriation of the Choice of Hercules is most easily ascertainable. By that point, Canutus, himself bewitched by Cartesmunda, 'has not touch'd his Armor' for twelve months.[563] The Danish lords are rebelling, trying to reason with their lovesick king and persuade him to finally swap the strumpet for a sword. But Canutus

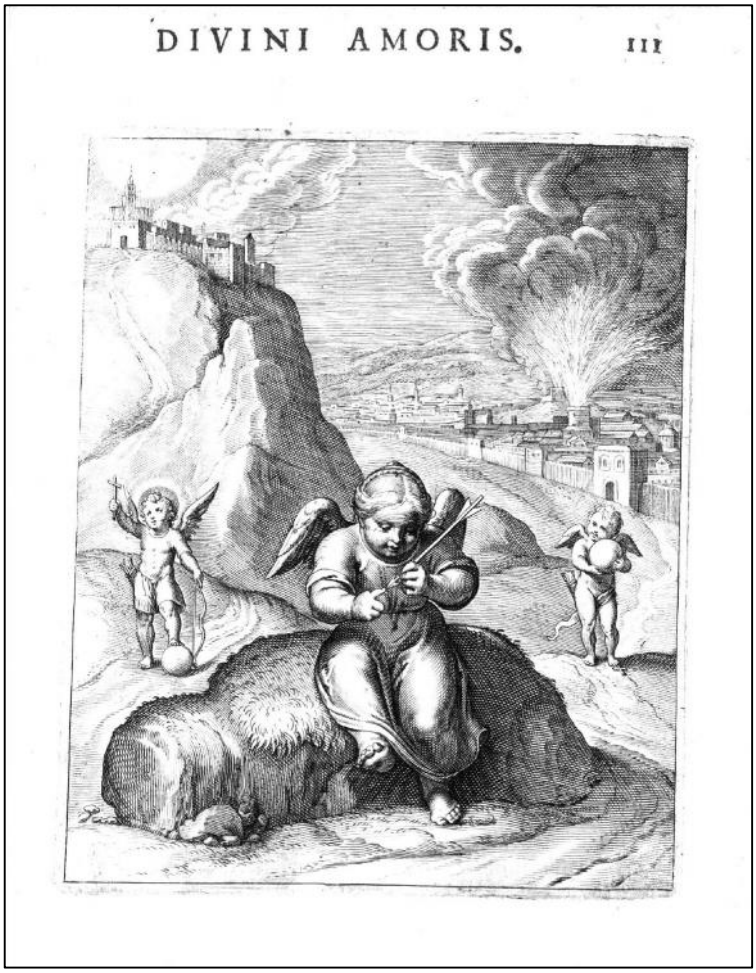

Fig. 12. 'Conscientia testis' from Otto Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata* (Antwerp, 1615), p. 111.

remains adamant and instead intends to justify his politically disastrous conduct by demonstrating to his courtiers the irresistibility of his mistress' beauty. By spectacularly exposing Cartesmunda all 'richly attired and deckt with Jewels', Canutus invites the eyes of Danish lords to participate in his idolatrous gaze and pay homage to her unrivalled beauty.[564] When he invites the adorned Cartesmunda to 'mount [his] throne', Canutus, whose worship

[563] *The Lovesick King*, III.ii.94.
[564] Ibid., IV.iv.20.1–2.

of the nun had already deprived him of his warrior spirit, honour, and ability to govern, is now completely emasculated.[565] Elevated into a communal idol, Canutus' Omphale is now formally recognized as the source of Danish sovereignty.

In Barksted's *Hiren*, as well as in the original story of Matteo Bandello, first translated into English by William Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure* (1566) and later retold by Knolles in *The Generall Historie*, Mahomet reassumes control over his passions and his rebellious Pashas through a premeditated show of cruelty. He displays bejewelled Hiren to demonstrate to his followers that her beauty is irresistible. But once his courtiers have capitulated to Hiren's charms, Mahomet proves his own self-possession by suddenly, to the great terror of everyone present, beheading his beloved. Brewer substantially departs from this climax. Instead of intending to demonstrate his superior resilience to female charms by brutally killing Cartesmunda, Canutus spectacularly displays his concubine, hoping that her overwhelming beauty will disclose the supposed hypocrisy of his captains and finally silence them. Unlike in Knolles and Barksted, where Mahomet clearly dominates the show, Canutus' theatricals do not produce the desired effect on his lords. Canutus has miscalculated. Whereas Mahomet resolved his inner struggle in private and decides to simultaneously 'cut off […] his troubled passions; and withal, to strike a terrour euen into the stoutest of them that had before condemned him', the failure of his plan pushes Canutus to face the unsolvable struggle between Love and Honour in public.[566]

Differentia specifica separating Brewer's Canutus from his source material is his tragic delusional love, which, although repeatedly identified as sorcery, originates in God's providential intervention. Brewer borrowed and adapted the notion of divinely imposed love from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cupid's Revenge*. Whereas Mahomet's passion is a direct consequence of Hiren's objective beauty, Canutus' love for Cartesmunda is prompted by an

[565] Ibid., IV.iv.39.
[566] Knolles, *The Generall Historie*, p. 352.

external force. For that reason, an impassable gulf exists between Canutus' perception of Cartesmunda and those of his captains. As the confrontation slips out of Canutus's control, it is him, and not his captains, who has to make a choice. Canutus is now confined to the role of Heywood's distaff Hercules. But whereas Heywood's Hercules eventually resumes his 'natiue vertues', Canutus is only able to return to the fray once Cartesmunda is forcefully taken from his side and accidentally slain.[567] And even then, unlike Heywood's Hercules, or Barksted's Mahomet, Canutus never recovers his previous vigour and remains a broken man.

Of all the Danish lords, Huldrick in particular remains the voice of reason. After Cartesmunda has occupied Canutus' throne, he passionately summons heroic images of war and warns of the imminent danger posed by the advancing English forces, which the king can no longer ignore. 'Thy honor bids me dare thee to the Field', he cries, 'If thy high spirit be not extinct by Lust: / Let's arm our selves for shame'.[568] Huldrick's potent rhetoric stirs Canutus' senses. Until now, when Canutus' authority had been challenged, he has tyrannically resorted to brutal force or impulsive invective. Similarly, he now condemns Huldrick of treason, but instead of swiftly executing his threats, he begins his only monologue of the entire play, which conveniently externalizes his internal struggle and indecisiveness. Canutus is now portrayed as a deliberating Hercules on the crossroads, trapped between the antithetic Pleasure/Cartesmunda and Virtue/Huldrick. Within the play as a whole, the main figure of Virtue corresponding to the Hercules *in bivio* motif is of course Elgina. But in this particular scene, where the motif is reshaped and integrated within the dramatic narrative, the same values, namely honour in battle and curbing of one's passions, are represented by Huldrick. Canutus is forced to make an agonizingly difficult choice between the two opposites, which he articulates in terms of Love and Honour:

[567] *The Brazen Age*, sig. K3^{r}.
[568] Ibid., IV.iv.66–68.

[…] O love thou art unjust,

I feel assaults far sharper in my breast,

Then all the English Forces 'gainst this wall;

Now love and honor, with their opposite powers

Afflicts my soul, and with their virtuous strife,

Plead for my Love, my Honor, Fame, and Life;

With this mans words [Huldrick], my passions strongly move,

He for my honor speaks. Honor, but Love

I am thy Martyr now, and must go on,

For what is Honor but Addition,

Got in our pride of youth; yet stay Canutus

Think of thy wonted Fame, go on and conquer.

Give me my horse, and I will quickly quell 'um.[569]

While Canutus ponders his decision, he moves along the stage: first in the direction of Honour/Huldrick, and then towards Love/Cartesmunda before changing his mind again and finally deciding to 'go on and conquer'. Throughout the scene, Cartesmunda has been silently perched on the throne like a statue, but now, like Heywood's Omphale, she intervenes: 'What will Canutus do?'[570] The voice of his beloved suddenly shatters Canutus' resolve, forcing him back into her arms:

[569] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iv.74-83.
[570] Ibid., IV.iv.84.

O Cartesmunda,

With that heavenly voice, already I am chang'd,

Stern War remains; Kiss me, and kiss me dead,

My best of Loves.[571]

The action is now interrupted by a messenger, who is immediately stabbed by Canutus for bringing more disquieting news of war: the English army has arrived, their 'Horse and Ensigns […] do stoutly bear' the field.[572] The sense of urgency coerces Huldrick into a last-ditch attempt to end the 'Tyranny of Lust'.[573] Since 'the Enemie's at hand', there is no more time to lose, so Huldrick decides to 'force [the] painted Whore' from Canutus' arms. The furious king fights back, but by accident simultaneously slays both his beloved and the rebellious lord. With the deaths of Cartesmunda and Huldrick, the choice between Honour and Love, Virtue and Pleasure, is extinguished. Mere necessity now compels Canutus to fight Alured's army, but without gusto, for Cartesmunda's death deprives him of every passion and joy: 'like one long sick, [he now] relish[es] all things ill.'[574]

Canutus' love is clearly not the root of virtuous deeds, which Vaenius' emblem ascribed to enamoured Hercules. Canutus is only Herculean insofar as he succumbs to beastly passions, as Hercules has during his sojourn with Omphale. He is only Herculean insofar as he is anti-Hercules, an antithesis of the master of heroic virtue, Prince Alured. And yet although Alured too faces his own notable choice, it is in representing Canutus' whirlwind of passion, radical disjunction, and imminence of doom, in which Brewer most

[571] Ibid., IV.iv.84–87.
[572] Ibid., IV.iv.93–95.
[573] Ibid., IV.iv.99.
[574] Ibid., V.i.4.

comprehensively portrays the Prodicean motif. He constructs an extended stage emblem, in which Canutus' monologue, the emblem's *subscriptio* harking back to Whitney's Hercules, deliberately allegorizes and interprets the characters on stage as embodiments of his internal psychological conflict.[575]

Brewer's representation of the distinct opposition of Love and Honour had been read as a possible clue for preferring a later date of *The Lovesick King*, closer to the Restoration vogue for heroic plays of the love-and-honour type.[576] But Martin has rightly pointed out that Canutus' internal struggle should not be a point of aesthetic concern, as it is prefigured in one of the main sources of the play, *The Generall Historie*, in which Mahomet, the source for the Danish king, is 'at warre with himselfe […] tossed too and fro (as a ship with contrarie winds)' between 'his honour […] and his amorous affections'.[577] Moreover, the opposition of love and honour would not have been an unfamiliar sight on the Jacobean stage. In part II of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, it is especially associated with the coming-of-age of Tamburlaine's sons, which suggests the influence of the *Hercules in bivio* motif. Tamburlaine's wrath is of course another prominent Herculean quality, but it should not necessarily be interpreted as an unwarranted excess of passion. Although at the beginning of the play Zenocrate begs her husband, as Venus would Mars, to 'leave these arms' and stay away from 'wrathful war', Tamburlaine does not yield to the tempering benefits of love, remains in control of his affections, and is rather more concerned with the 'amorous' looks of his sons, who are '[n]ot martial as the sons of Tamburlaine' should be.[578] Celebinus and Amyras are eager to follow their father in gaining honour, but Calyphas prefers pleasure

[575] On drama as an extended emblem see Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 162–67.
[576] Dent, '*The Love-Sick King*', p. 557; cf. Jean Gagen, 'Love and Honor in Dryden's Heroic Plays', *PMLA*, 77/3 (1962), 208–20; cf. C. L. Barber, *The Idea of Honour in the English Drama 1591–1700* (Göteborg: Elanders, 1957).
[577] Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, p. 352.
[578] *Tamburlaine II*, I.iii.9–22.

instead: ‘Take you the honour. I will take my ease; / My wisdom shall excuse my cowardice […] I’ll to cards.’[579] In the most shocking scene of the play, Calyphas is murdered by his father for cowardly abstaining from battle. Tamburlaine’s statecraft built on the opposition of love and honour is most clearly articulated at the end, when the dying hero imparts his final lessons to Amyras:

> Let not thy love exceed thine honour, son,
>
> Nor bar thy mind that magnanimity
>
> That nobly must admit necessity.[580]

Shakespeare’s Antony has failed to follow Tamburlaine’s advice, although desperately trying to obey ‘The strong necessity of time’.[581] After Actium, he is ‘’Stroyed in dishonour’ and confesses that his sword was ‘made weak by my affections’ – Antony’s honour and martial prowess are under threat from his passionate love for Cleopatra.[582]

Brewer had been influenced by both Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* and Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*, and unsurprisingly, Herculean imagery lingers behind both.[583] Although we may not unquestionably equate honour with virtue, the Renaissance mind saw their relationship in overwhelmingly Aristotelian and Ciceronian terms. Whereas Plato dissociated love of fame from virtue, Aristotle and Cicero were not so rigorous in disparaging honour if it was a consequence of personal virtue.[584] It was for this very reason

[579] Ibid., IV.i.49–59.
[580] Ibid., V.iii.199–201. Cf. Waith, *The Herculean Hero*, p. 84.
[581] *Antony and Cleopatra*, I.iii.42.
[582] Ibid., III.xi.53–66.
[583] Waith, *The Herculean Hero*, pp. 60–87, 113–21; John Coates, ‘“The Choice of Hercules” in *Antony and Cleopatra*’, *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 31 (1979), 45–52; Richard Hillman, ‘Antony, Hercules, and Cleopatra: “the bidding of the gods” and “the subtlest maze of all”’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 38/4 (1987), 442–51.
[584] Curtis Watson, *Shakespeare and the Renaissance Concept of Honor* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1960), pp. 19–27.

that, as La Primaudaye explains, 'Romanes built two Temples ioyned together, the one being dedicated to Vertue, and the other to Honour: but yet in such sort, that no man could enter into that of Honour, except first he passed through the othet of Vertue'.[585] In the Renaissance, true honour was a mark of nobility. Its inward manifestation was 'the love of virtue'; outwardly, it was 'the reward of virtue'.[586]

Unsurprisingly, the virtue and honour are equally tightly merged in Herculean iconography. In 'Vis Amoris', Peacham, just like Brewer, establishes a clear antithesis of 'Loues affection' and 'Honor, and a worthy name', which Hercules frittered away by turning into Omphale's slave.[587] It seems certain that Brewer adapted his source material from *The Generall Historie* in accordance with the appropriated mythological grounding. Canutus' struggle between love and honour is therefore consciously modelled on the Choice of Hercules.

However, similarities between *The Lovesick King* and Dryden's heroic plays are not insignificant. Not only do they share the antithesis of love and honour, but also an opposition between two kinds of love: one erotic and irrational, which leads to bestiality, and the other one pure and Platonic, which prompts the hero towards virtue and honour.[588] Passionate love stands in opposition to both Platonic love and honour; the hero is therefore often converted towards honour and virtue through chaste love. In Dryden's plays, Waith discovered a modification of the pattern of Herculean hero, in which 'love of the hero is often a means of completing his heroic duty'.[589] The same holds true for *The Lovesick King* and Vaenius' emblem 'Virtutis radix Amor'. Nevertheless, the similarities between Brewer and Dryden should rather be explained by their shared ideological background, in particular the ubiquity

[585] La Pimaudaye, *The French academie*, p. 101.
[586] Gagen, 'Love and Honor', p. 209.
[587] Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 95.
[588] Scott C. Osborn, 'Heroical Love in Dryden's Heroic Drama', *PMLA*, 73/1 (1958), pp. 480–90, 481.
[589] Waith, *The Herculean Hero*, p. 166.

of the Platonic conception of love in the seventeenth century and its intimate association with Prodicean Hercules, than close temporal proximity. *The Lovesick King*'s revival in 1680 by the Actors of the King's Playhouse under the title *The Perjur'd Nun* testifies that Brewer's play was indeed attuned to Restoration sentiments and easily included in the late-seventeenth-century repertory.[590]

Brewer's integration of the Choice of Hercules into dramatic action is successful and effective because he interprets the interaction between Hercules, Virtue, and Pleasure as an erotic encounter. The two allegorical figures are not simply persuading Hercules to adopt particular values and political ethos, but are rather competing to win him as they would a lover. In other words, they also invite him to decide what kind of love life he wants to lead. Virtue's chaste love is thus juxtaposed with Pleasure's lust. Such interpretation of the motif has a double benefit for Brewer. On the one hand, it effectively translates the moral conceit into real-life human interaction, which can be convincingly put on stage, and on the other, it feeds into the grand Neoplatonic narrative of the cosmic unity in love, which Brewer, as we know, conveniently utilized to celebrate and justify the establishment of intra- and international political bonds. Consequently, every representation of love encounter and wooing in *The Lovesick King* alludes to the totalizing archetype of Hercules' choice. By reciprocating Elgina's chaste love, Alured is drawn towards civic duty and heavenly truth, ascending the mountain of heroic virtue. Canutus' lust, on the other hand, chains him to Cartesmunda's bed and engenders his tyrannical disregard for public affairs.

The germ of such re-fashioning of the Choice of Hercules is already present in the original allegory itself, in which Pleasure is associated with desire and sexual promiscuity. However, a positive reinterpretation of the Herculean lover, which we detected in Vaenius' love emblems, has been a more recent development. For Italian Neoplatonists, the absolute

[590] Bentley, *The Jacobean Stage*, vol. 3, p. 43.

discreteness of Hercules' choices was unsustainable beyond its esoteric moral instruction, which, in any case, is but the 'crust, and not the marrow' of its mystery.[591] As we know, Hercules' rejection of Pleasure does not transform him into a frigid, dispassionate Stoic, but rather into a mystical hedonist. Stirred by Love, Hercules turns away from false Pleasure to follow beauty, which is Virtue's chastity, only to gaze towards the Beyond, where true Pleasure may be found and enjoyed in eternity.[592] Paradoxically, Virtue actually leads to Pleasure and both are ultimately reconciled and united in the Beyond. Alured fits perfectly the mould of such a mystical hedonist; he subjects his amorous desire to reason, falls in love with Elgina, and through her death gains access to the transcendent reality, which in turn shapes his peaceful political practice.

4.5 Choosing Virtue

By exercising his Christian heroic virtue, King James' alter-ego, Alured, steers effortlessly between the play's 'Love encounters'.[593] When ordered by his new master Erkinwald to woo Elgina in his stead, Alured is quick to reassure the audience about the real object of his desire by echoing King James' spousal love for Britain: 'Tis Englands peace that I would live to Court, / But she is fled, and I a captive Prince, / Slave to my mortal foes, till time release me.'[594] In spite of his wishes, Alured obediently accepts his new duties as Erkinwald's sworn servant and does not actively seek to rebel against this humiliating state. Again, Alured follows James' advice to his son Henry to '[v]se other Princes, as your brethren, honestly and kindly: Keepe precisely your promise vnto them, although to your hurt', and to count 'rebellion against any other Prince, a crime against your owne selfe'.[595]

[591] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, p. 205.
[592] Cf. Ibid., pp. 48–52.
[593] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.275.
[594] Ibid., II.ii.34–35.
[595] *Basilicon Doron*, in Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 32.

Alured is patient and politically passive until absolutely forced into decisive action. More importantly, he dutifully displays the four cardinal virtues (prudence, fortitude, temperance, justice), three theological virtues (hope, faith, charity), and three heroic virtues (generosity, moderation of anger, and contempt for pleasure). When his brother Etheldred is slain in battle and the field is lost, he does not despair, but patiently endures the will of God by calmly comforting distraught Edmond: 'If Heaven be pleas'd, brave Lord, we yet may live, / If not, what Heaven has given, ile freely give.'[596] In only two verses, Brewer manages to exhibit Alured's participation in all three theological virtues. Being praised by Edmond as 'the true hope of England', Alured remains until the end an epitome of a just and virtuous monarch.[597]

If Alured is to follow this code of chivalry and remain steadfast, he must not court Elgina for himself even if she were Venus, 'beauties Queen / And half the world her dower', for he 'wo'd not wrong / The trust' he had received from his mortal enemy Erkinwald.[598] Alured is aware of his precarious position and the real danger of being dishonoured; he asserts his steadfastness by imagining himself as Adonis, rejecting Venus/Elgina. But the image of tempting Venus should also direct us towards the motif of Hercules *in bivio*. As we know, representations of the Choice of Hercules would often depict Vice as Venus and Virtue as Minerva, as is the case in Whitney's emblem 'Bivium virtutis & vitii' and the Uffizi *Choice of Hercules* (see fig. 6).[599] Alured is therefore reimagining his own crossroads' choice by asserting that he would make the same choice again and remain constant. The encounter between Elgina and Alured could therefore have been quite conventional and dull, were it not for Brewer's entertaining twist. To Alured's utter surprise, Elgina indeed plans

[596] *The Lovesick King*, I.i.72–73.
[597] Ibid., I.i.81.
[598] Ibid., II.ii.40–42; for Venus as 'beauty's queen' see *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 4.1–4.
[599] Whitney, *A choice of emblems*, p. 40.

to win him, yet not as a lustful Venus, but as a chaste Minerva, whom he, Hercules, cannot possibly reject.

When Elgina first sees Alured at the end of act I, she identifies him with Cupid and immediately falls in love with him in much the same manner as her brother Canutus has with Catesmunda:

> Some God, I think, disguis'd in humane shape,
> Come down to court us with bewitching looks,
> There's something tells me, if my thoughts speak truth,
> To thee I owe the pleasure of my youth.[600]

However, unlike Canutus, she manages to control her lovesickness and hide it from the world. In case of Elgina's instant suppression of her passion, the audience is invited to recognize Vaenius' emblem 'Est simulare meum' ('Dissimulation is loues wisdom'), which portrays a Cupid hiding behind a vizard.[601] Like in the emblem, Elgina's wisdom is not in hiding her love from Alured – she clearly does the very opposite – but from those, as the emblem states, 'that secret malice beare, / Thereby to be secure from euill tounges abuse'.[602] She prudently dissimulates in front of Erkinwald, whom she knows to be passionately in love with her and therefore in danger of being consumed by jealousy.

Nonetheless, Elgina believes such dishonesty to be oppressing and redundant. She regrets the fact that women are expected to be bashful and 'hide their passions / Even till [they] burst and die'.[603] They 'must not plead love, / Yea, tho't be offered [they] must still

[600] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.230–33.
[601] Vaenius, *Amorum Emblemata*, pp. 220–21.
[602] Ibid., p. 220.
[603] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.84–85.

refuse it'.[604] 'I see no sence for this', she concludes, and decides for the sake of 'amorous youth' to teach young women how to behave in such situations '[a]nd spight of custom […] begin to wooe'.[605] Elgina transforms herself into one of Vaenius' love emblems which advises lovers to be bold and seize the opportunity in love, or those that warn against refusing love simply for fashion's sake, when 'yeilding at the first vnseemly shall bee thought'.[606] Although her agency seems at first disruptive of the patriarchal order, it quickly becomes clear that the courtship she promotes remains socially acceptable because of her own personal integrity and self-discipline. Moreover, by adopting the rhetorical persona of Virtue/Minerva she is recognized as a maintainer of heroic virtue, not its antagonist.

First, Elgina challenges Alured's role as Erkinwald's proxy by insisting on having the upper hand. She then rightly identifies Alured as someone who is in control of his affections, someone who 'conquer'st love, and Cupids Deity'.[607] According to Alured, who tries to instil Elgina's admiration for his new master, Erkinwald is a military hero, 'noble' and 'warlike', and therefore worthy of her attention.[608] But Elgina knows that like all great military men, including Hercules and her brother Canutus, Erkinwald has been vanquished by love and pines for her. When at the end of act I he brings news to the princess about her brother's conquests he reminds her of his suit:

> What conquest can be more?
>
> Elgina: That you subdue your thoughts;

[604] Ibid., I.iii.285–86.
[605] Ibid., I.iii.288–90.
[606] 'Celerem oportet esse amatoris manum' ('Bold and redie'), 'Undecunque occasion promota' ('Loue vseth manie meanes'), 'Negare iussi, prenegare non iussi' ('Proffred seruice past the date, / Is whished when it is to late'), in Vaenius, *Amorum Emblemata*, pp. 110–11, 174–75, 178–79.
[607] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.49.
[608] Ibid., II.ii.47.

Good sir, give ore, till I have conference with the King.[609]

In spite of his military prowess, Erkinwald is unable to subdue his own affections. Elgina's retort therefore subverts Alured's flattery by insisting that the English Prince, now in disguise as Erkinwald's servant Eldred, is in fact a greater man than his Danish master because he remains in control of his amorous affections. Nevertheless, Elgina's wooing of Alured is rather short because the English Prince quickly realizes that the Danish Princess is chaste and virtuous, an antithesis of Venus:

Elgina: Be not afraid,
But tell me boldly, could you love a Maid
That for thy sake wo'd be a president,
And teach all women a new way to win
The often wish'd desires of stubborn men?
In me you shall observe patience and duty,
Tender care, and fear; by thy bright eyes,
Ile teach the constant Turtle truer love,
And make the Nuns at Vesta's Altar swear,
The Virgin state is not so strict to move
As the obsequious life you lead in love.
And cannot you yet say, you mean to love me?

Alured: Beshrew me Madam but you tempt me shrewdly,

[609] Ibid., I.iii.218–19.

Pray give me leave to think upon't […][610]

Elgina's courting does not promise sensual pleasures, but is fundamentally rhetorical and rational: as Virtue, she is persuading, not seducing Alured. She expands on the virtues of true love and fashions herself as a moral precedent, truer than 'the constant Turtle', directly inviting us to read her character allegorically and in the context of Platonic love. By recognizing her seduction as prudent, Alured's response is accordingly rational, not emotional. In fact, it is precisely her virtue and eloquence which makes Elgina attractive to the Prince. Brewer wittily rewrites anticipated Petrarchan language, which aristocratic lovers would be expected to resort to during amorous meetings, into a rational deliberation on true love and its practical manifestations. In the manner of Hercules at the crossroads, Alured now needs to determine whether reciprocating Elgina's love means taking the path of Virtue or Pleasure. There are two impediments he needs to address before he can make his final choice. Firstly, he worries about the vow he had given to Erkinwald, which, after considering the legal implications of the situation, he joyously concludes, had not been breached:

Alured: […] [Aside] Ha!

My vow's not broke yet; for I wooe not her,

That was my oath sure, and I think there's no man

That can withstand the wooing of a woman.

Fond fool, how quickly youth and blood transform?[611]

[610] Ibid., II.ii.50–63.
[611] Ibid., II.ii.63–67.

Although self-consciously surprised about his own rapid emotional change, Alured is free to love. Being safe from perjury, he now needs to test Elgina's sincerity. The latter is achieved by way of stressing the impossibility of their union due to their social inequality; remember, Alured is still in disguise as Eldred:

Alured: O gracious Princess, 'tis your Royal blood,
So near allied unto the great Canutus
Keeps me at distance; were our states made even
My love sho'd be as strong as zeal to Heaven.
Therefore Imperial Maid ---

Elgina: No more, if that be all,
We will dispence with greatness. Use me like one
That loves you, Ile Invent a plot that shall
In short secure us both; I crave but this,
That thou be true of faith: For by my life
I love thee.

Elgina's craftiness, which in other contexts could turn into a sinister force – the most pertinent negative comparison would be Bacha's deceitfulness in *Cupid's Revenge* – is again a Minervan quality, but also an echo of another love-related commonplace: 'Loue fyndeth meanes'.[612] *Amorum emblemata* can also help us to fully appreciate the implications of the most pressing issue at this point: the social inequality of the two lovers.

[612] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 92.

By now we know that Erkinwald makes Alured swear 'Never to injure [him] in this disguise, / Nor with Icarian wing to soar too high'.[613] Icarus was of course a conventional symbol of human pride and uncurbed desire for knowledge,[614] but Erkinwald's metaphor specifically relates to matters of love and social hierarchy. Vaenius' *Horatiana* emblem 'In medio consistit virtus' (virtue stands in the middle) refashions the story of extreme Icarus and measured Daedalus as a commentary on everyday ethics appended to the central elements of the emblem's composition, which consists of three female figures: a prosperous Virtus standing between covetous Avaritia and spendthrift Liberalitas.[615] Conversely, in his love emblem 'Medio tutissimus ibis' ('Fly in the middest') (fig. 13), which borrows motto from another *Horatiana* emblem, the story of Daedalus and Icarus, with its recognizable Ovidian details, takes centre stage.[616] Moreover, it articulates exactly the same moral we find in Erkinwald's metaphor. In the love emblem, a Cupid is depicted holding a pair of compasses and pointing towards the sky, where Icarus is tumbling down from on high while his father rather peacefully flies along a safe middle path between the sea and the sun. The emblem encourages the reader to imitate Daedalus' prudence and choose a partner from his or her own social class, 'For if thow fly to high disdayn may thee disgrace, / Or if to low thow fly thow doest thy self debase'.[617] Our suspicions of Brewer's indebtedness to Vaenius are reinforced later in the scene, when Alured discourages Elgina from pleading with Erkinwald by alluding more specifically to the wording of Verstegan's epigram: 'Do not debase your self, for my poor life'.[618] The formal subject of the love emblem is of course a commonplace, treated previously by Alciato and his imitators,[619] but Vaenius'

[613] Ibid., II.ii.20–21.
[614] See 'In Astrologos' in Whitney, *A choice of emblems*, p. 28; the emblem was taken from the 1584 French translation of Alciato's *Emblemata* (cf. http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/index.php).
[615] Vaenius, *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*, pp. 18–19.
[616] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 42–43; cf. Vaenius, *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*, pp. 20–21.
[617] Ibid., p. 42.
[618] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.143.
[619] Cf. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, p. 102.

reinterpretation of Icarus is nevertheless unique. Considering the numerous parallels between *The Lovesick King* and Vaenius, it is very likely that Brewer's inclusion of the Icarian motif was in fact prompted by *Amorum emblemata*'s emblem 'Medio tutissimus ibis'.

Alured follows Erkinwald's advice and plays by the book, but not because he is actually worried about the difference in class between him and Elgina, but rather because through invoking this social convention he can conveniently test how far Elgina is prepared

Fig. 13. 'Medio tutissimus ibis' from Otto Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608), p. 43.

to go in pursuit of love. She is indeed ready to 'dispence with greatness' and follow him in spite of his low social standing. However, how does her eagerness to sacrifice her social position reflect on her virtue and prudence if we are to consider Vaenius' emblem, which advises lovers to choose partners among their equals? Vaenius allows exceptions and so does

Brewer. When Erkinwald discovers Alured and Elgina kissing, he immediately articulates the anticipated conclusion:

> Erkinwald: Degenerate Princess, I suspect thy birth:
>
> Yet well mayst thou be Sister to thy Brother,
>
> For Great Canutus blood runs low as thine,
>
> And Love-sick doateth on an English Nun.[620]

Again we are invited to compare and contrast. But even though Elgina's lovesickness is similar to Canutus', the quality of her love is very much unlike her brother's. Like Alured's, Elgina's love is guided by virtue and willingness 'to performe what-so loues dutie byndes'.[621] Such love, Verstegan claims, 'no difficultie fyndes'.[622] Indeed, Love has little regard for 'Equalitie of state'; he 'excelleth all', for 'by him all the world is vanquisht and must yeild'.[623]

In *The Lovesick King*, love as an irresistible and seemingly arbitrary divine force strikes both Canutus and Elgina, but the difference between the lovesick brother and sister is how they, out of their own individuality and free will, react to it: they both decide to be proactive, but whereas Canutus' response to his affections leads him to idleness and sensual pleasure, Elgina's embracing of her desire compels her to vow patience, duty, and constancy to her socially-inferior lover. Elgina is willing to dedicate her entire life to her lover, to take the steep path of true and constant love. She echoes Vaenius' spiritual emblem 'Constans

[620] *The Lovesick King*, p. II.ii.107–10.
[621] 'Virtute duce' in Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 52.
[622] Ibid., p. 52.
[623] See 'Nihil tam durum et ferreum, quod non Amoris telis perfringatur' ('Nothing resisteth loue') and 'Nescit Amor magnis cedere divitiis' ('Loue excelleth all') in Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 22–23, 64–65.

est' (Love is constant), in which Anima, being burned at the stake, is supported by Divine Love.[624] Quotations from the church fathers are complemented by those from Seneca, which additionally link the emblem, with its secular forerunner 'Amor, qui desinere potest, numquam verus fuit' ('Loue in enduring death'): 'Si cruci affigatur, si flammis tradatur, semper amat qui verè amans est' (even if he is crucified, even if he is given over to the flames, he who truly is a lover loves always).[625]

Vaenius admits, that although it is prudent to find a lover amongst your equals, love often cares not for human convention. It is therefore ultimately better to judge love by its moral qualities rather than its outward adherence to social norms. For this reason Vaenius suggests that virtue should be the guide of love and that true love

> […] hateth pryde, & hath it in disdayn,
>
> Equalitie in loue hee thinks doth loue mayntayn,
>
> And for to please his love will please to bee a slaue.[626]

Although Erkinwald may be right in voicing the narrow Icarian wisdom, it is he himself who is ultimately guilty of the sin of pride. It is only through literal reading of Verstegan's epigram to 'Loue hateth pride' that the following Elgina's words can be properly comprehended: 'Knew Erkinwald my heart, hee'd change with thee [Alured], / And be thy slave to have command ore me.'[627] Elgina is not primarily articulating a Petrarchan commonplace, stressing the need for the lover to serve his beloved, since in order for Erkinwald to earn Elgina's love, he would not have to serve her, but change his place with

[624] Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata*, pp. 76–77.
[625] Ibid., p. 76; Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 184–85.
[626] See 'Magni contemptor honoris' ('Love hateth pryde'), in Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 194–95. Cf. 'Superbiam odit [love hates pride]', in Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata*, pp. 112–13.
[627] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.91–92.

his own servant, Alured. He would have to dispense with his greatness, as both Elgina and Alured have already done. Unlike proud Erkinwald, Alured has humbled himself, for which he is now rewarded with Elgina's love. Virtues of love and humility are so tightly knitted together that 'qui in una earum construitur, simul utraque potiatur' (who is raised in one of them, masters both at the same time).[628]

Although it would be reductive to force ideological consistency upon *Amorum emblemata*, which is, unlike *Amoris divini emblemata*, concerned with the diversity and complexity of the human experience of love, the emblem book, just like Brewer's play, nevertheless suggests that chaotic contradictions caused by amorous affections can only be resolved when the lover's desires are subjected to self-conscious ethical scrutiny. Lovers' contempt for social norms and hierarchies is acceptable when their love is truly virtuous. To illustrate this idea, Brewer goes to great lengths to stress the differences within the Alured-Canutus diptych. After being caught kissing with Elgina, Alured could have shaken off his disguise to prove that the Danish princess has in fact fallen in love with her equal. But Brewer wants to demonstrate that, unlike Cartesmunda, who is about to betray her vow of chastity, Alured will keep his and will not commit perjury. He has diligently courted on behalf of his master, but rejecting Elgina's advancements would be an act against nature, for 'no man […] can withstand the wooing of a woman'.[629] Even Alured, who otherwise excels in warring against his own affections, would not be able to satisfy the overzealous statutes of King Ferdinand's 'little academe' in *Love's Labour's Lost*.[630] And yet Alured is right; he did not seek Elgina's love, nor is he responsible for it. In fact, he interprets her unexpected passion as a consequence of providential force:

[628] Vaenius, *Amoris divini emblemata*,p. 112.
[629] Ibid., II.ii.65–66.
[630] *Love's Labour's Lost*, I.i.13.

Erkinwald: A perjur'd Villain.

Alured: That tongue lies that speaks it --- Hear me,

I courted for thee with my best of speech,

And shew'd my faith as firm as Adamant,

Till fate that rules all love, ore-rul'd her so,

That she became a Suiter for my love,

And on my worthless self her smiles hath thrown;

My tongue was yours, but my consent mine own.[631]

How exactly should we understand Alured's overruling 'fate that rules all love'? Fate is often mentioned in the play, particularly by Alured and Thornton. In act I, when King Etheldred invites his brother to fight the advancing Danes to the death, Alured enthusiastically responds: ''Tis but our Fate'.[632] By killing Erkinwald, Alured seals his 'fate', while Canutus' inability to zealously fight after Cartesmunda's demise is an 'Advantage that Fate bids [him] take'.[633]

Although both Alured and his Newcastle double, Thornton, often refer to fate and fortune (Thornton even possesses his destiny in writing), their providentialism should not be mistaken for fatalism or high-Calvinist predestination.[634] In *The Lovesick King*, both divine intervention and individuals' free choices are essential in shaping divine justice. The play's indebtedness to Hercules *in bivio* is essential in stressing individuals' agency and their power to cooperate with God's grace. When Alured wins the war, he first gives thanks to the 'all-

[631] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.114–21.
[632] Ibid., I.i.60.
[633] Ibid., II.ii.156; V.ii.22.
[634] For a concise discussion of these correlated terms and their early-modern meanings see Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion*, pp. 176–85.

helping heaven'.[635] Similarly, Thornton repeatedly stresses that his fortune is all 'Heavens blessing'.[636] Alured and Thornton are both exceptional recipients of God's grace, but only because of their prudent exercise of free will. Although experiencing temporary set-backs and misfortunes, they remain patient and reap just rewards in the fullness of time.

We will return to the issue of providence in the next chapter. For now, I want to focus on Alured's and Thornton's somewhat divergent conceptions of fate and fortune. Thornton understands fate as personal destiny; his own future had been unveiled to him in a prophecy by some 'Witch or a Jugler'.[637] Similarly, Thornton's fortune is not a goddess or an abstract concept, but a synonym for wealth. Merchant Adventurers, whom Thornton eventually joins, gain fortune by risking or venturing their state at sea. But whether or not they actually gain profit, and therefore fortune, is not dependable on the fickle goddess, but on providence. More importantly, whether their hazard produces 'gain, or loss', Merchant Adventurers 'must be still contented'.[638] When Thornton obtains his lucky fortune, he makes no mistake and appropriately describes his venture as 'Heavens blessing thrown on a poor mans head'.[639]

In Alured's vocabulary, fate and fortune are both external and impersonal forces. Whereas fate is a synonym for divine providence, fortune's provenance is morally much more ambiguous. Right before his unsuccessful courting of Elgina, Alured laments his bad luck, for although fortunate enough to have survived the Danish invasion, he is now compelled to serve Erkinwald against his wishes:

> Fortune I see thou now art blind, and foolish,

[635] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.55.
[636] Ibid., III.i.154.
[637] *The Lovesick King*, II.i.16.
[638] Ibid., II.i.48.
[639] Ibid., III.i.154–55.

> And without aim direct'st thy giddy shafts;
>
> These gifts thou givest to me, which I despise.[640]

Fortune's gift, which Alured despises, is his new employment and, more precisely, gold, which Erkinwald has just given him for his pains. If Thornton's gold is heaven's blessing, Alured's unwanted gift is just a consequence of the random turning of Fortune's wheel. Of course, Alured rails against Fortune because he is experiencing bad fortune, but his deeper rejection of Fortune's instability and its amalgamation with equally arbitrary Cupidean power should not pass unnoticed. Alured deliberately imagines Fortune dressed in Cupid's garb: she is blind, foolish, and wielding 'giddy shafts'. The association of Fortune with Love was not uncommon, but even more so in a play so intimately concerned with the intricacies of human love and political fortune.[641]

Like Love's, Fortune's relationship with Virtue in early modern ethics has been ambivalent. Stoics perceived 'virtue as a remedy against the caprice of chance' while the general trend in Renaissance iconography was to represent Virtue and Fortune as competing entities.[642] Like human passions, Fortune has been deemed an arbitrary, feminine, and irrational force, which needs to be subdued by masculine reason.[643] Violent misogyny associated with such taming wasfamously articulated by Machiavelli: 'Fortune is a woman and it is necessary, in order to keep her under, to cuff and maul her.'[644] These negative attitudes towards Fortune are echoed in Alured's speech, but more importantly Brewer is

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[640] Ibid., II.ii.29–31.
[641] See Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, 104–05; Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (London: Cass, 1967), pp. 90–98.
[642] Rudolf Wittkower, 'Chance, Time and Virtue', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1/4 (1938), 313–21 (pp. 316, 318–20).
[643] See Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving *Heroic Man Combatting Fortune* in Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, p. 177.
[644] Pitkin, *Fortune is a Woman*, p. 152. Cf. Wittkower, 'Chance, Time and Virtue', p. 319; Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, pp. 176–77.

once again directing us towards Vaenius' love emblems, in particular 'Et cum fortuna statque caditque fides' ('Blynd fortune blyndeth loue').[645] The emblem again juxtaposes an Ovidian motto with the following passage from Cicero, which in translation reads: 'Not only is Fortune blind herself, but as a rule she even blinds those whom she has embraced; as a result they spurn their old loves and revel in the new ones'.[646] Although blind Fortune can 'put light loues faint feruor out', a 'feruent loyall loue may no such fortune fynde'.[647] This time, Brewer clearly interprets the love emblem politically. Alured's loyal commitment to procuring 'Englands peace' has not been extinguished by the short-term profits of blind Fortune. Instead, by despising her gifts, Alured tames Fortune's fickleness and reasserts his heroic virtue. Moreover, he puts his hope in all-encompassing providential Time. Bound by the capricious goddess to serve Erkinwald, Alured is now compelled to wait for divine providence to release him in good time.[648]

The reliance of the English prince on providence or fate rather than fickle Fortune is conveniently summarized in one of Whitney's emblems, which he suppressed early in the process of printing *Emblemes* because it too explicitly referred to his patron, the Earl of Leicester.[649] 'Fato, non fortuna' (By Fate/God's will, not by fortune) depicts a man sitting on top of Fortune's wheel with blind Fortuna herself hanging helplessly under the gentleman's feet. In his left hand, the man holds a laurel branch, while with his right hand he grips the hand of God which extends towards him from the clouds. The Fortune, *subscriptio* states, is 'subdu'de, and captiue vnto man'.[650] All who have served her must now confess that 'Fortune nothing can', for 'onlie God defendes the mighties seates'.[651]

[645] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 156–57.
[646] Ibid., p. 156; Cicero, *On Friendship*, XV.54.
[647] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 156.
[648] See Time releasing Truth in Whitney's emblem 'Veritas temporis filia' (*A choice of emblems*, p. 4); cf. Wittkower, 'Chance, Time and Virtue', p. 316, for Truth as Virtue.
[649] The emblem is reproduced in John Manning, 'Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*: a Reassessment', *Renaissance Studies*, 4/2 (1990), 155–200 (p. 166).
[650] Manning, 'Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*', p. 166.
[651] Ibid., p. 166.

Although Alured adheres to the emblem's moral regarding the absolute supremacy of God's wisdom, his worldview does not absolutely denounce Fortune. Fortune's blindness and foolishness is only temporary, caused by an unprecedented surge of Cupidean powers. Moreover, just as Virtue and Pleasure are not presented as absolutely disjunctive entities in *The Lovesick King*, so too providence and Fortune are not mutually exclusive. Fortune can be compatible with God's will if it follows in the footsteps of Virtue. If the scene began with a demonstration and rejection of Fortune's blindness, the remaining part develops a positive notion of virtuous Fortune-Opportunity guided by divine providence. Such reconciliation between Virtue and Fortune was well known to humanists through the Erasmian adage 'Duce virtute comite Fortuna' (guided by virtue, accompanied by fortune), or its more explicitly Christian and Neoplatonic version 'Deo duce Virtute comite Fortuna favente' (guided by God, accompanied by Virtue, favoured by Fortune).[652] As in Mantegna's fresco *Festina Lente*, Elgina in relation to Alured represents both Virtue-Constancy and Fortune-Opportunity combined: she hastens his release from captivity slowly and thoughtfully, according to virtue.[653] If traditionally Fortune-Opportunity was perceived as a morally ambivalent and slippery figure, Elgina is conspicuously similar to Rubens' *Occasio*: a character willing to be taken by the hero and joined with him in wedlock.[654] Led by divine providence and accompanied by virtue, Elgina acts not as a swift and illusive, but constant and compliant Occasio, whom Alured can safely grab by the forelock and 'like a man' continue to 'pursue [his] fate' by legitimately slaying Erkinwald and resuming the

[652] Wittkower, 'Chance, Time and Virtue', p. 317.
[653] Cf. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 101–02.
[654] For discussion of the *Occasio* theme in Rubens see Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory*, pp. 170–78.

pacification of England.[655] Time, or rather 'fate that rules all love', that is Fortune, has presented Alured with an Opportunity to escape, which he prudently takes.[656]

If by yielding to Canutus, Cartesmunda transforms into worldly Pleasure, then by dying, Elgina equally assumes her native form as angelic Virtue. Her chaste love rushes to eternal heaven, while her body is monumentalized into an 'Alabaster statue'.[657] Through her wooing and death, Elgina as Virtue leads Alured from captivity towards glory and honour in the field of war. Alured's farewell to Elgina mirrors Canutus' farewell to Cartesmunda: after the deaths of their lovers, both men return to war. But whereas Cartesmunda's death painfully uncovers Canutus' unfruitful lust and idolatry, which only leads to shame and humiliation in the field, Alured's love for Virtue truly makes him achieve Herculean 'woorthie deeds' and win 'more victories'.[658] In *The Lovesick King*, only heroic virtue, under the auspices of divine providence, can overcome the most powerful natural forces: sensuous passion and blind Fortune.[659] However, this occurs not by excluding them, but chastising and taming their irrationality. Although chaste, the bond between Alured and Elgina is still erotic. Although constant, Elgina's wooing of Alured is still opportune. In *The Lovesick King*, Virtue and Pleasure are not simply presented as discrete choices, but are ultimately meant to mingle harmoniously.

4.6 Reconciling Virtue with Pleasure

Similar to Ben Jonson's masque *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* (1618), performed at Whitehall about eight months after *The Lovesick King*, the radical opposition between Virtue and

[655] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.148.
[656] Ibid., II.ii.118. There are two emblems in Vaenius which similarly encourage the lover to prudently grasp every opportunity which presents itself to procure his advantage: 'Bold and redie' and 'Loue vseth manie meanes', in Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 110–11, 174–75.
[657] *The Lovesick King*, II.ii.164.
[658] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, p. 32.
[659] Cf. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 145–47; Wittkower, 'Chance, Time and Virtue', pp. 320–21.

Pleasure in Brewer's play, although essential for discerning individual and political virtue, is supplanted by measured reconciliation. In Jonson's masque, the 'cessation of all jars / 'Twixt Virtue and her noted opposite / Pleasure' can only happen once Prince Charles and the rest of the eleven male masquers have become disciples of Virtue and climbed the mountain of Atlas.[660] Only such men as are able to govern their affections and follow the path of Virtue can be trusted with Pleasure, for they would not 'grow soft or wax effeminate', but will always enjoy their delights in the presence of Virtue.[661] The masquers are in fact appropriately guided by Daedalus, by whose virtue they may securely make trial of 'any labyrinth, though it be of love'.[662] The abstract oneness of Virtue and Pleasure is represented by a series of intricate harmonious dances, performed by the twelve male masquers under the instruction of the dancing master Daedalus: the first one introduces the opposition of the Choice of Hercules, which immediately dissolves into a complex intertwining of Virtue and Pleasure; the second dance figures Beauty, followed by the third one, representing Love, which ultimately guides the male dancers towards rapturous enjoyment of Pleasure, uniting them with the ladies, which marks the commencement of the revels. This imaginative re-enactment of the mystery of the Pleasure reconciled to Virtue is unfolding in the presence of Hesperus, King James, who embodies the performed ideal, for 'Justice and Wisdom [are] placed / About his throne, and those with Honour graced, / Beauty, and Love'.[663] Such harmonious mingling of virtue and pleasure was essential to the early modern code of chivalry, which under the influence of Neoplatonism promoted an ideal of a tripartite life: the equal pursuit of wisdom, power, and pleasure, combining spiritual qualities and qualities of the senses.[664] In rhetorical articulation

[660] Jonson, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, pp. 156–58.
[661] Ibid., pp. 178–80.
[662] Ibid., p. 209. Cf. Vaenius, *Qvinti Horatii Flacci emblemata*, pp. 18–19.
[663] Ibid., pp. 164–65.
[664] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 81–85; see particularly Book I of Castiglione's *The Courtier*, but also concluding Pietro Bembo's speech on Platonic love and the courtier's duty to be guided by love in order to contemplate divine beauty and truth (IV.li– lxxi).

and visual representation of this tripartite ideal, artists resorted to the motif of Judgement of Paris. Queen Elizabeth's allegorical portrait at Hampton Court, for example, represents the queen as combining in herself the three gifts which the three competing goddesses, Pallas, Juno, and Venus, posess only separately.[665] As Jonson's masque aptly demonstrates, such moral and spiritual balance in this world can only be achieved and sustained by appreciating and yet simultaneously gazing beyond worldly beauty.[666]

One iconographic explication allowing the Neoplatonists to contemplate both practical ethics and the universal concord of contraries was the motif of Hercules *in bivio*. Another one, related to the first and of equal cultural significance, was the mystery of 'the unlawful union of Mars and Venus, from which issued a daughter named Harmony. Born from the god of strife and the goddess of love, she inherits the contrary characters of her parents: *Harmonia est discordia concors*'.[667] Brewer alludes to this *topos* when articulating the romance between Cartesmunda and Canutus; he must have been alerted to it by both Barksted and Knolles, who both explicitly compare Mahomet and Hiren to Mars and Venus respectively:

> All the day he spent with her in discourse, and the night in dalliance: all time spent in her companie, seemed vnto him short; and without her nothing pleased: his fierce nature was now by her well tamed, and his wonted care of armes quite neglected: Mars slept in Venus lap, and now the soldiors might go play.[668]

[665] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 82–83.
[666] Ibid., p. 48.
[667] Ibid., pp. 85–86.
[668] Knolles, *The General Historie*, 350; in Barksted: 'Then like the God of Warre, caught in a net / He [Mahomet] twin'd his *Venus*' (*Hiren*, 81.1–2).

The comparison is particularly apt because it is Hirene (Εἰρήνη, Greek for 'Peace') who subdues Mahomet/Mars.[669] Like Mahomet and Mars, Canutus exchanges his armour and sword for Cartesmunda's embraces and bids his soldiers 'hand their Arms up', for 'England is conquer'd, all our Wars are done, / And all in this, that Cartesmunda's won'.[670] Love subdues strife and procures harmony and peace. The scene of Canutus asleep on stage in act III and repeated references to sleep thereafter all demonstrate that Brewer must have been wholly familiar with the iconographic tradition of the union of Venus and Mars.[671] Moreover, in elucidating the theme he again resorts to quoting Vaenius. During the raid of Winchester Cathedral, Cartesmunda remains the only one standing. But although Canutus offers to strike her, his hand is unable to execute the deed:

> Who holds my conquering hand? What power unknown,
>
> My Magick thus transforms me to a stone,
>
> Senseless of all the faculties of life?[672]

[669] The last triumphal arch designed by Ben Jonson for James I's entry into London in 1604 included an allegory of Peace, under whose feet lay Mars 'groveling, his armour scattered upon him in severall pieces' (Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642*, 85).
[670] *The Lovesick King*, II.iv.71–74.
[671] Cf. Wind's discussion of Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo in *Pagan Mysteries*, pp. 89–91; see also Paolo Veronese's *Venus and Mars* (1578), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (W. R. Rearick, *The Art of Paolo Veronese, 1528–1588* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1988), pp. 133–34).
[672] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.25–27.

Canutus' hand has been stayed by Cupid. Although he resists his power, multiple attempts fail until '*He offers to strike, and his sword falls*'.[673] There is no precedent for this action in the play's literary sources. However, exactly the same motif of Cupid disarming Mars is found in Vaenius' emblem 'Nemo adeo ferus est, qui non mitescere possit' ('Loue pacifyeth the wrathfull') (fig. 14), which itself seems to be without iconographic predecessor.[674] The play does not call for an actual Cupid wringing Canutus' hand such as we see in the engraving, but substitutes the winged boy with an invisible hand of God.

Fig. 14. 'Nemo adeo ferus est, qui non mitescere possit' from Otto Vaenius, Amorum emblemata (Antwerp, 1608), p. 209.

Although alluding to its cosmic precedent and famous Virgilian maxim *omnia vincit amor*, the peace ensured by love of Canutus and Cartesmunda is unstable and temporary. As we know, far from conveying an image of Neoplatonist *triplex vita* or reconciliation between Virtue and Pleasure, the union between Canutus and Cartesmunda is inharmonious,

[673] Ibid., I.iii.70.1.
[674] Vaenius, *Amorum emblemata*, pp. 208–09.

adulterous, and idolatrous. It exposes the dangers of unmitigated sensuous passion rather than achieving the abandonment of the world of senses and contemplation of divine beauty. The moral tension between the contradictory interpretations of the two mythological stories on which the romance between Canutus and Cartesmunda is grounded – the union of Venus and Mars and Hercules enslaved by Omphale – is resolved towards their negative aspects. Canutus is not a hero learning the virtues of love, but a tyrant steeped in bestiality. Alured, on the other hand, although abundantly displaying heroic virtues, is simultaneously not afraid to follow his desire. By favourably responding to Elgina's wooing, he seizes the opportunity for his 'virtue to come to fruition in joy'.[675] In Alured's Neoplatonic statecraft, Love and Honour do not present themselves as antithetical choices, but harmoniously coexist. 'You shall return unto your State in Denmark', he tells Canutus after the Danes are defeated, 'And henceforth even as brothers wee will live, / Exchanging Embassies of Love and Honor'.[676]

Brewer makes enemies friends, for 'euen they which seeme to be cleane contrary' are in the end, due to divine providence and Alured's virtue, 'allied, reconciled and vnited'.[677] Virtue and Pleasure, intertwining within Alured's perfectly balanced character, are also externally united in the final reconciliation between the kings of England and Denmark, which, although it culminates in undoubtedly pleasurable 'Banquets' and 'Revels', has not been procured by Canutus' beastly lust, now utterly purged from the stage, but by Alured's Platonic love for Elgina:

> How now, still sad Canutus?
>
> We now must war with love, to raise this siege,

[675] Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, p. 85.
[676] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.76-78.
[677] De la Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, p. 700.

Which we will do with Banquets, and with Revels.

[…]

Look up Canutus, now all's cleer above,

Let Cartesmunda dye in our new love;

And let swift fame thy former glories ring,

And hide the follies of a Love-sick King.[678]

Although the characters of *The Lovesick King* inhabit a particular allegorical mode of representation, they are not completely constrained and stripped of their psychological complexity. Without any doubt the moral and political connotations of their actions are more important for Brewer than their individuality – it is for this very reason that characterization in *The Lovesick King* generally seems rather stiff – but we should nevertheless be reluctant to interpret the action completely schematically and allegorically. Although Brewer delights in his audience's recognitions and unravelling of allegorical meaning, he is at pains to show that the choices and actions of real individuals in history matter. In fact, his decision to construct the play's political ethics around the motif of the Choice of Hercules fundamentally stresses the agency and free will of characters even though it simultaneously binds them into a pre-determined allegorical schema. Rather than presenting a pageant of abstract concepts and moral truths more or less detached from real-life, Brewer therefore situates his plot in history and skilfully shows how real political experience, no matter how fictitious, relates to and inevitably embodies a universal moral truth.

Nor should Brewer's extensive use of allegory and emblematic language compel us to read *The Lovesick King* as a minutely developed allegory of Jacobean England. Although

[678] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.118-33.

some characters, such as Alured and Elgina, are fashioned to allude to real-life individuals, others resist such linear readings. The heavy coating of moral allegory renders substantial parts of dramatic action deliberately unsuitable for unambiguous interpretations *à clef*. And yet, Jacobean religious politics and Catholic struggle for toleration shaped the narrative of *The Lovesick King*. One of Brewer's fundamental messages seems to be that when individuals self-construct or are faced with radically antithetical choices, violence and destruction are inevitable. Catholics facing the oath of allegiance knew very well that real-life decisions are not as schematic as the black and white choices tendered to Hercules. Peace and unity can only be achieved when base passions are overcome by reason and divine love together. According to Brewer, true virtue is not dispassionate; just as measured reconciliation between virtue and pleasure, reason and affections is of paramount importance in the actions and body of a morally well-balanced individual, so too it is essential in the politics and body of the State.

5 Love and Confessional Politics

In the previous chapter, I have demonstrated that in *The Lovesick King*, amorous passion is a positive force when checked by reason and accompanied by virtue. The simple morality of Hercules *in bivio* is deepened and reinterpreted in keeping with Vaenius' neoplatonic Herculean emblems. Rejecting pleasure does not imply a complete suppression of affections, but rather their moderation. Moreover, such restrained, virtuous love is not marginalized but made central to the idealized political practice. In Brewer's play, a demonstration of how kings engage in love becomes a touchstone for discerning good kingship. But *The Lovesick King* is not simply a mirror of princes which openly flatters King James, encourages him to follow his own political philosophy, and be more like Alured rather than Canutus. Love also transcends personal ethics or codes of chivalry and functions as a divine providential force, sustaining communities and nations. Unsurprisingly, the Christian God of love manifests in the play through the power of love.

This chapter will further expand the interpretative contexts of love and the Herculean choice by relating them more decisively to contemporary religious issues. I will begin by analysing how Brewer uses elements of Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedy *Cupid's Revenge* to construct *The Lovesick King*'s anti-Calvinist theology of grace. Beaumont and Fletcher's criticism of the Calvinist God is supplanted with an anti-predestinarian vision of God, who through the power of love intervenes in human affairs only to cooperate with human free will. Brewer's anti-Calvinism is further traced through his representation of the Danish invasion, which I read allegorically as an assault of Protestant heresy. A fundamental feature of Danish heresy is their burning passion, which manifests itself in hypocritical idolatry. The confrontation between temporal and spiritual forces, which facilitates idolatry, is further used by Brewer to comment on the crucial contemporary question facing English Catholics:

how to consolidate allegedly irreconcilable allegiances to the King and the Holy See within a community bitterly divided by the Jacobean oath of allegiance. Brewer's answer sides with the solution promoted by the Anglo-Gallican wing among the English Benedictines and secular clergy, who were in favour of taking the oath. In particular, I shall consider the work of the Cassinese Benedictine Thomas Preston, who boasted both the secret support of King James and the northern Catholic gentry.

Although *The Lovesick King* is not an outspoken Catholic play, I conclude that it nevertheless recognizably participates in anti-Calvinist and pro-Catholic structures, positions, and values. Keeping in mind both internal textual evidence and external performance context, Brewer's play can be understood as an idealized articulation of moderate Catholic values.

5.1 Rewriting Cupid's Revenge

Although themes of love and death are central to *The Lovesick King*, Brewer's play shuns simple genre designations such as 'love tragedy' or 'sex tragedy', even though its individual romantic plots share their respective characteristics.[679] Two main elements set apart *The Lovesick King* from similar Jacobean plays of love and illicit sexuality: first, the source of amorous affections of some characters is distinctly metaphysical and forcefully imposed on them from the outside, and secondly, its overarching plot is not tragic but tragicomical. In love tragedies such as *Romeo and Juliet*, love is recognized as a civilizing power, which can potentially bring about peace, order, and social harmony, but fails to do so due to forces of hatred. Conversely, in *The Lovesick King*, the benefits of chaste love are developed and

[679] See Roger Stilling, *Love and Death in Renaissance Tragedy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976); Martin Wiggins (ed.), *Four Jacobean Sex Tragedies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

realized to their full potential. Love truly conquers all, physically and metaphysically; not in a destructive and tragic way, but by inspiring Christian virtue.

The conscious representation of love as an external force is of course not unique to *The Lovesick King*. When romantic love was genuinely believed to have a divine or supernatural origin, Cupid or Venus were commonly represented on stage as agents of the plot. In some cases, their physical presence would be substituted with indirect, but no less material, means, as in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, where the affections of Athenian youths and Titania are of Cupidean quality, although administered unconventionally through the flower juice.[680] Tragic plots are, however, more important for our discussion. By analysing representations of Cupid on the early modern English stage, Jane Kingsley-Smith has detected what she terms 'Cupidean tragedy'.[681] In Cupidean tragedy, such as *Tancred and Gismund* (1591) or *Cupid's Revenge* (1608), love is neither represented as a fundamentally good and edifying force as in love tragedy, nor as a destructive sickness or sexual misconduct associated with tyranny, which we find in sex tragedies, such as Fletcher's *Valentinian*.[682] Instead, love is distinctly 'anti-social and has always been imagined as an agent of death, being imposed by Cupid to punish his enemies'.[683] Cupidean tragedy takes the Renaissance popular association of love and death, which Kingsley-Smith aptly traces in sixteenth-century art and emblem books, to extremes by eliminating any difference between the two concepts: Love desires and delivers death through his own arrows.[684] Cupid embodies and instigates a destructive desire, which causes the downfall of his autocratic opponents, transforming the god of love himself into a violent tyrannical deity.[685] What is particularly interesting about these plays, and relevant for our discussion of

[680] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II.i.155–74.
[681] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, pp. 74–93.
[682] Ibid., pp. 74–75; Wiggins, *Four Jacobean Sex Tragedies*, p. ix.
[683] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 74.
[684] Cf. Ibid., pp. 60–74.
[685] Ibid., p. 75.

The Lovesick King, is that they engage with broader religious issues. Through tragic destruction of transgressive lovers, they explore the questions of free will and justice by divine punishment: aspects which suggest that Cupidean tragedy nurtures a conflicting 'attitude towards Calvinism'.[686]

Beaumont and Fletcher's *Cupid's Revenge* is heavily indebted to Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, in particular to two narratives from Book 2: Erona's inappropriate passion for Antiphilus, which is a consequence of her hubristic iconoclasm, and the story of the King of Iberia, his son Plangus, and their lustful mistress Andromana.[687] Both narratives deal with destructive amorous desire, but in Beaumont and Fletcher the stories are joined together under a Cupidean framework, in which the plot is driven forward by the revenge of the dishonoured god of love. The story is set in Lycia, where Duke Leontius has vowed to grant a disastrous birthday wish of his chaste and virtuous daughter Hidaspes. The princess, encouraged by her brother Leucippus, demands of her father a violent suppression of Cupid's cult, for in her opinion it is merely 'A vaine and fruitlesse Superstition', which only 'beares the shew / Of true Religion, and is nothing else / But a selfe-pleasing bold lasciviousnes'.[688] Although unwillingly, Leontius performs Hidaspes' wish, and the destruction of 'obsceane Images' commences.[689] Leucippus and Hidaspes act on the presumption that Cupid is only an idol, a 'created god', whom Lycians use to justify their sinful passion.[690] But immediately after the first temple has been desecrated, Cupid himself descends on the stage and vows revenge against those who despise him, namely the royal family. He first shoots his arrow

[686] Ibid., p. 75.
[687] *Arcadia*, pp. 232–36, 242–51. For a detailed discussion of parallels between Sidney's *Arcadia* and *Cupid's Revenge* see James E. Savage, 'Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* and Sidney's *Arcadia*', *English Literary History*, 14/3 (1947), 194–206; cf. Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, pp. 44–50. Kingsley-Smith offers a more concise and thorough analysis of how *Arcadia* engages with the contemporary debate on idolatry and iconoclasm in 'Cupid, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, 48/1 (2008), 65–91.
[688] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.i.48–51.
[689] Ibid., I.i.74.
[690] Ibid., I.i.62.

at Hidaspes, who becomes enamoured with the dwarf Zoylus and immediately wants to wed him. Leontius, horrified at the prospect of his daughter marrying an ugly dwarf, perjures himself and instead of fulfilling Hidaspes' second wish, which he rashly swore to do, has Zoylus executed. Consequently, the princess dies of grief. Afterwards, the duke is afflicted with an unrelenting passion for Bacha, a lusty widow and Prince Leucippus' ex-mistress. Disappointed by his son's alleged treason and exhausted by his new wife's plotting and bad temper, Leontius falls ill and dies. Cupid's revenge concludes with the death of the exiled Leucippus, who successfully escapes death several times during the play, but fails to translate his good fortune into political advantage. He is stabbed by Bacha, who in turn commits suicide.

Although originally written for the Children of the Queen's Revels company in 1607–8, *Cupid's Revenge* was only published in 1615, shortly before the company dispersed.[691] There is no reason to doubt John Astington's suggestion that the play's late publication must be 'an indication of its continued appeal in the theatre, which one may contrast with the immediate appearance in print of both *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *The Faithful Shepherdess*', both of which were badly received on the public stage.[692] During its career with the children's company, *Cupid's Revenge* was performed at court at least three times: on 5 January 1612, and 1 and 9 January 1613.[693] In the 1620s the play was revived by Lady Elizabeth's Men and later passed on to Beeston's Boys; both companies performed it at court, in 1624 and 1637 respectively.[694] Imitating scenic effects of the court masque, such as Cupid descending from above, must have contributed to the commercial

[691] See the printing history of the play in Fredson Bowers (ed.), *The Dramatic Works of the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–96), pp. 315–32.
[692] John H. Astington, 'The Popularity of *Cupid's Revenge*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 19/2 (1979), 215–27 (p. 219).
[693] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4, pp. 125, 127; Astington, 'The Popularity', p. 219; Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 190–91.
[694] Astington, 'The Popularity', p. 218.

success of the play.[695] But further reasons for its appeal may be ideological. *Cupid's Revenge* provides a veiled criticism of the Calvinistic God in a time when rigid supralapsarianism was being modified; it allowed 'audiences (both Catholic and Protestant) to indulge their hostility towards a Calvinist deity who is surprisingly hateful and wantonly destructive'.[696]

If Cupid can be identified as a vengeful Calvinist God, the reasons for his revenge are incompatible with the sensibilities of Reformed theologians, since his wrath is provoked by iconoclasts rather than idolaters. Therefore, the story of Hidaspes could for some members of the audience allude to a fall of a radical Protestant, who suddenly discovered she was not counted among the elect. Cupid's traditional fickleness and ruthlessness in torturing lovers are rewritten in order to illuminate contemporary theological issues. The representation of Cupid in particular does not defuse the inherent pessimism of Calvinist theology, but rather highlights audience anxieties about their salvation.

Therefore, Kingsley-Smith is right in claiming that Cupid's punishment, by which he intends to devastate Lycia and transform it into 'a most wretched Land',[697] ironically echoes the well-known passage in Deuteronomy (4, 15–31) against idolatry, which is extensively quoted in the first part of the prescribed *An Homily Against Peril of Idolatry*.[698] Idolaters, the *Homily* states, 'shall quickly perish out of the land which [they] possess [and] shall not dwell in it any long time; but the Lord will destroy [them]'.[699] *Cupid's Revenge* playfully inverts the teaching of England's Calvinist Church on the consequences of idolatry. For Beaumont and Fletcher's Cupid, whose retributive thundering resembles a jealous Old Testament God, the destruction of images, not their worship, is an abomination.

[695] Ibid., pp. 226–27.
[696] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 92.
[697] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.iv.20.
[698] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 49.
[699] Griffiths, *The Two Books of Homilies*, p. 171.

Furthermore, the play carefully rewrites Sidney's narrative so as to strengthen the link between iconoclasm in Lycia and recent religious history in England.[700] For "Reformed" Hidaspes, worshipping Cupid is a 'fruitlesse Superstition' and at odds with 'true Religion'.[701] Such words soon give way to action. The representation of state-sanctioned iconoclasm and suppression of Cupid's cult in the second scene leaves little doubt that 'the audience is watching "reformation" in action'.[702] Commissioner Nilo interrupts the religious ceremony dedicated to Cupid to deface the temple. The rituals must cease, the priest must change his vestments, and the statue of Cupid, around which young men and maidens were just dancing, must now be made 'a Scarecrow […] or at the best, / Adorne a Chimney-peece'.[703] These quite surprisingly overt references to the Reformation are further substantiated by more minute allusions to living strategies, which real individuals had to adopt in its wake in order to survive in a bitterly divided society. Nilo advises the priest, who cannot believe the sacrilege, to 'learne to lye, and thrive'; in other words, to adapt and live against his conscience like a church-papist, 'for the gods, / He that lives by 'em now, must be a begger'.[704] Equally uncanny is the comment made by Nisus, one of the three choric observers of the action, in which he alludes to the practice of compounding for recusancy: 'Would I had gin an hundred pound for a toleration, that I might but use my conscience in mine owne house.'[705] The context of these utterances is humorous; rather than providing a critique of the contemporary persecution of Catholics, they are mainly intended to provoke laughter through the ridiculous identification of Cupid's cult with the pre-Reformation Church.

[700] Cf. Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, pp. 49–50.
[701] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.i.48–50.
[702] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 50.
[703] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.ii.38–40.
[704] Ibid., I.ii.45–7.
[705] Ibid., I.i.114–16.

As I have already pointed out, *Cupid's Revenge* also engages with debates on justification and predestination. When Zoylus is dead, Hidaspes is stricken with deadly grief. 'Aske *Cupide* mercie Madame', Cleophila suggests, in a desperate attempt to save her mistress' life.[706] Hidaspes, finding herself infatuated with the dwarf, has already recognized her hypocrisy, repented, and asked Cupid's mercy in act I.[707] Now, she remains speechless and Cleophila is forced to break the newly imposed statutes and kneels down in prayer for her mistress in order to obtain Cupid's mercy and pardon. But the god remains true to his promise that no 'prayers / Nor sweet smokes on [his] Altars' shall make him relent, a point which he maintains throughout the play and stubbornly reiterates during his last appearance on stage.[708] In his freedom to distribute grace unequally and arbitrarily, regardless of the individual's merits, Beaumont and Fletcher's Cupid resembles a cruel Calvinist deity, who by 'a terrible decree', as Calvin calls it, condemns most of humanity to reprobation even before they have had an opportunity to commit sin.[709] In *Cupid's Revenge*, sin against the god of love has evidently been committed. But because the Lycians have so arrogantly separated themselves from any means to mollify the god, they remain at the mercy of a proverbially whimsical, and utterly tyrannical, vengeful Cupid, who, imitating the absolute sovereignty of the Calvinist God, lacks any sympathetic 'interest in the lover's salvation'.[710]

Although *Cupid's Revenge* may be questioning theological cornerstones of the Calvinist consensus in England, authorities clearly had no objections regarding its plot. The opposite is true; the play, as we know, enjoyed considerable favour at court. Moreover, it

[706] Ibid., II.v.2.
[707] See ibid., I.iv.27–36.
[708] Ibid., I.iv.18–19, V.iv.1–5; cf. Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 91.
[709] Jean Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion, written in Latine by maister Jhon Calvin,* trans. by Thomas Norton (London, 1561), III.xxi, III.xxiii.7; on the importance of Calvinist theology of grace and particularly the teaching on predestination in early modern England, see Dewey D. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525–1695* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 15–20.
[710] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 92.

would be inappropriate to interpret Leucippus' final commitment to the restitution of Cupid-worship in Lycia as a disguised longing for the idealized Catholic past. Beaumont and Fletcher do not seem to be at pains to show 'that the religion of Cupid with its tolerant attitude toward sex is happy and natural', as Finkelpearl claims.[711] The Lycian cult of Cupid nevertheless remains deeply problematic, for it is in fact a breeding ground for illicit sexuality, which could 'hardly have been endorsed by an early modern audience, no matter how anti-Puritan'.[712] Nisus, Dorialus, and Agenor humorously expand on the qualities of the sort of plague which might follow the suppression of Cupid:

> Agenor: […] Gentlemen I had rather have angred all the gods then that blinde Gunner. I remember once the people did but slight him in a sacrifice: and what followed? Women kept their houses, grew good huswives, honest forsooth, was not that fine? wore their owne faces, though they wore gay cloathes, without surveying: and which was most lamentable, they lov'd their husbands.
>
> Nisus: I doe remember it to my griefe. Young Mayds were as cold as Cowcumbers, and much of that complexion: bawds were abolisht: and to which misery it must come againe, there were no Cuckolds. Well, wee had neede pray to keepe these divels from us, the times grow mischievous.[713]

Because sexual desire is imagined as an irresistible external force, which can be manipulated through Cupid's cult, the Puritan fantasy of eradicating fornication and adultery, which miserably fails in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, is in fact a real possibility in *Cupid's Revenge*. In Beaumont and Fletcher's play, there is no need for a 'godly magistrate', such as

[711] Philip J. Finkelpearl, *Court and Country Politics in the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 129.
[712] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 89.
[713] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.i.127–38.

Angelo, 'to remove all strumpets and harlots […] out of places notoriously suspected or resorted unto […] for the avoiding of carnal fornication'.[714] Instead, suppressing spiritual fornication, i.e. removing and destroying Cupid's 'idols and images' from 'churches and temples', is enough to eradicate illicit sexuality.[715]

But the pagan context and tragicomic, even farcical treatment of serious themes, which persists throughout the play,[716] fail to completely neutralise meaningful analogies between the veneration of Cupid and Catholicism on the one side, and revengeful Cupid and Calvinism on the other. The audience undoubtedly detected these political and religious allusions, but it is hard to ascertain their reaction. In the case of the author of *The Lovesick King*, such speculation may rest on firmer ground.

Due to numerous parallels in character and plot which exist between *Cupid's Revenge* and *The Lovesick King*, it is safe to conclude that Brewer knew Beaumont and Fletcher's play quite well, and had in fact intriguingly rewritten some of its elements in order to more explicitly articulate a particular confessional and political agenda. Aside from developing overarching themes of transgressive and overpowering amorous passion, both plays extensively discuss social inequality in love and female agency in courting, which is repeated through employment of the same character types and patterns of interaction. For example, Hidaspes' infatuation with Zoylus and Bacha's wooing of Leucippus are both reminiscent of Elgina's wooing of Alured. Both Elgina and Hidaspes are chaste and virtuous maidens who shun suitors only to suddenly succumb to love. Moreover, they both tragically die in act II of their respective plays due to adverse circumstances, which are in both cases fashioned as consequences of their socially unacceptable choices of lovers. But whereas

[714] Griffiths, *The Two Books of Homilies*, p. 249.
[715] Ibid., 249.
[716] Cf. Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels*, pp. 120–24.

Hidaspes' death is used to disparage celibacy in favour of marriage,[717] because the princess' life gives a negative example of hypocritical chastity similar to Cartesmunda, Elgina's death preserves her integrity. Both, however, promote chaste unions of lovers. Furthermore, their deaths are similarly received by their close family members: newly enamoured Leontius is as dismissive of his daughter's imminent death as Canutus is of his sister's.[718] On the other hand, Alured is clearly a correctly balanced version of Leucippus and indeed other examples of Fletcherian foolishly noble young princes,[719] while the scheming lusty widow Bacha was used by Brewer to construct two much more appealing characters: Mrs. Goodgift and Elgina. Bacha's lustfulness, plotting, ambition, and covetousness are morally neutralized in *The Lovesick King* through the healthy ambition and prudence of widow Goodgift and the sincere resourcefulness of the Danish princess.

Beyond shared character types and contained patterns of action, both plays are peculiarly fixated on the issues of oath-taking and perjury; most importantly, they dwell on divinely imposed amorous desire provoked by sacrilege to comment on issues of grace, providence, and predestination. The desecration of Cupid's temple is paralleled with the violation of St. Swithin's Abbey in Winchester. Although the main sources for the Danish sacking of Winchester are Knolles' narrative of the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* and Barksted's treatment of the same event in *Hiren*,[720] other details suggest Brewer also took inspiration from *Cupid's Revenge*. Unlike Knolles, who simply follows the story from Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure* and tells us nothing about how the fair Greek was captured, Barksted imagines Hiren as one of the virgin maids who have clearly taken the vows of chastity but are not explicitly described as nuns, taking

[717] 'Let us all now living bee, / Warnd by thy strict Chastitie, And marry all fast as we can.' *Cupid's Revenge*, II.v.40–42.
[718] *Cupid's Revenge*, II.iv.35–39; *The Lovesick King*, II.iv.59–69.
[719] Cf. Finkelpearl's splendid analysis of Leuccipus in *Court and Country Politics*, pp. 131–35.
[720] See Knolles, *The Generall Historie*, pp. 347–50; Barksted, *Hiren*, 9–15.

refuge in a church during the Turkish raid. In *The Lovesick King*, Winchester nuns similarly take refuge in the abbey, but they are accompanied by an old abbot. Brewer's inclusion of the abbot makes historical sense, but it was also very likely inspired by the priest of Cupid whom he had found in *Cupid's Revenge*. Furthermore, Mahomet's lovesickness, both in Knolles and Barksted, is only rhetorically associated with Cupid and not at all linked to his raid of the church or the city. Mahomet's infatuation is therefore of purely physical origin and stems from his obsessive fixation on Hiren's bodily beauty, which in early modern medical discourse would have been explained as a mental malady, not unlike the one that afflicts General Memnon in Fletcher's *The Mad Lover*.[721] Although Canutus' lovesickness displays similar symptoms, which is important because of its overtly visual, idolatrous, and quasi-religious nature, its origin is not physiological but metaphysical. In fact, just as the iconoclastic violation of the temple in *Cupid's Revenge* is in direct causal relationship with Cupid's divine intervention, even so Canutus' orders to 'Ransack the Temple' and kill the nuns should be considered a cause of his and Elgina's supernaturally imposed passion.[722]

5.2 The Theology of Grace

Even though Brewer imitates the causes and origins of Beaumont and Fletcher's irrational amorous passion, he considerably rewrites its theology. One of the main reasons for his substantial departure is, of course, a new religious context: the self-contained pagan world of *Cupid's Revenge* is, in *The Lovesick King*, substituted by a thoroughly Christian world under attack by barbaric paganism, in which there is no place for spectacular appearances of Cupid or even worse, a Christian deity. In *The Lovesick King*, Cupid remains confined to Petrarchan rhetoric and is, intriguingly, only ever invoked by pagan Danes. In practice, this change of

[721] For details on various early modern medical discourses on lovesickness see Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender*, pp. 13–27.
[722] *The Lovesick King*, I.ii.19.

religious context brings about two fundamental alterations to Beaumont and Fletcher's model. First, the god of love from classical mythology is replaced with an invisible Christian God. And secondly, Cupid's dissemination of qualitatively predetermined passion, which causes death and destruction, is replaced by the divine intervention of the Christian God, which through the commandment of love providentially transforms human suffering into joy. The transition from pagan to Christian contexts has therefore quite naturally produced a change in genre, from tragedy to tragicomedy.[723]

However, it would be a mistake to understand the shift in genre solely as a consequence of *The Lovesick King*'s explicitly Christian setting. *Cupid's Revenge*, as we have seen, is in spite of its paganism deeply invested in contemporary religious controversies. Its pagan context only veils, and to some extent defuses, acutely contemporary anxieties. In other words, *Cupid's Revenge* is a tragedy with a Christian God in disguise. Therefore, the genre shift in *The Lovesick King* in relation to Beaumont and Fletcher's play should not be primarily discussed through the opposition of paganism and Christianity, but rather in the context of confessional and theological difference. If *Cupid's Revenge* emphasizes the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, does *The Lovesick King* resort to a less rigid notion of God's distribution of grace? If that is the case, how then do these ideological changes reflect *The Lovesick King*'s confessional allegiances?

Such theological analyses are not without their pitfalls. In early modern England, plays were generally not written to engage in theological controversies, but to entertain. It is therefore wrong to presuppose that every represented perspective or minor allusion to a particular theological concept was meant to support a coherent doctrinal position. The relationship between theological discourse and professional stage was indirect: 'Like

[723] On the providential design of tragicomedy and its inherent Christian quality see Verna A. Foster, *The Name and Nature of Tragicomedy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 35–51; Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion*, pp. 196–202.

autobiographical reflection or poetry, the dramas of Shakespeare's time give us not official theologies but unofficial reactions to theological discourse'.[724] But the case of *The Lovesick King* is nevertheless different. If I am correct in what I have argued so far about the production context of Brewer's play, then we are not dealing with a piece written for London's commercial theatre, but with an occasional drama sponsored by particular patrons for a particular private audience. King James stopped in Newcastle on his way to Edinburgh, where he planned to discipline the Puritan Scottish Church which still remained partly Presbyterian and vigorously resisted Anglican innovations in worship.[725] Matters of religion during James' visit to Newcastle were therefore in the air and it seems probable that the king's Catholic hosts would attempt to harness James' anti-Puritanism in order to stress their loyalty and common ground with the king. James' religious beliefs were Calvinist, but throughout his reign he endeavoured to contain radical innovation and political threats of the opposing religious extremes, popery and Puritanism, by insisting on the middle way and attracting the moderates from both sides.[726] Although James' theology of grace was Calvinist, he saw predestination as a secondary doctrine and not essential for salvation. It is for this reason that James tolerated differing opinions on the matter among his bishops as long as Arminian views were kept out of the pulpit.[727] It is possible that northern moderate Catholics, who wanted to stress their loyalty and moderate beliefs, articulated their case by staging a more nuanced theology of grace, which voiced the beliefs of the pro-Arminian members of the ecclesiastical establishment, such as Bishop Lancelot Andrewes and Bishop Richard Neil, who might have sat in the audience.[728] Whatever the case may be, a limited

[724] Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion*, p. 216.
[725] For concise narrative on King James' religious policies in Scotland see Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts*, pp. 320–25.
[726] See Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy of King James I', *Journal of British Studies*, 24/2 (1985), 169–207.
[727] Fincham and Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policy', pp. 187–91.
[728] Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590–1640 (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 106–24.

analysis, such as used in our discussion of *Cupid's Revenge*, one which is more concerned with tendencies and will not absolutely impose a particular orthodoxy on the text, may provide us with a better insight into *The Lovesick King*'s theology of grace if not its unequivocal identity.

God's miraculous intervention through divine love or grace is of course nowhere in the play explicitly named as a source of Canutus and Elgina's passion, but we can easily infer from the context that its origin cannot be anywhere else. In *Cupid's Revenge*, Cupid's agency is obvious. Brewer, on the other hand, had to invent a different way to make sure his audience was not left in the dark as to the real source of Canutus' and Elgina's sudden outburst of affections. Moments before Danish soldiers enter St. Swithin's Abbey, Cartesmuda leads the nuns in collective prayer, imploring Heaven and invoking saints, but not quite in an intercessory manner

> Take Virgin tears, the balm of martyr'd Saints,
>
> As tribute due to thy Tribunal Throne;
>
> With thy right hand keep us from rage and murder.[729]

God's hand, which Cartesmunda is summoning, will indeed reach down to its servants and literally stay Canutus' murderous sword. I have already suggested in the previous chapter that Canutus' struggle with the invisible power which 'holds [his] conquering hand' recalls Vaenius' emblem 'Nemo adeo ferus est, qui non mitescere possit', in which Cupid is shown plucking a sword out of Mars' hand.[730] At this point, Canutus can still objectify divine

[729] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.3–5.
[730] Ibid., I.iii.25.

intervention as the external 'power unknown'.[731] Through his repeatedly unsuccessful resistance to it, which in some way prefigures his Love and Honour speech in act IV, Brewer demonstrates both the existence of Canutus' autonomy and a truly external nature of the power which has afflicted him. Canutus initially regards his passion as caused by witchcraft. Eventually he admits that he has been 'struck with lightning from the torrid Zone', but he still considers Cartesmunda's 'flaming Sun' to be the cause of his burning, 'For all that see her, sure must doat like me'.[732] He submits to the power of love and internalizes his passion, but idolatrously recognizes its source to be the nun's objective corporeal beauty. A woman whom he was only moments ago prepared to slay in cold blood as collateral damage in a military campaign is suddenly transformed into his prized jewel, whose mere 'Idea crowns [his] victory'; compared to her, the English crown holds no value at all.[733] The language of military conquest and destruction has been substituted by a Petrarchan rhetoric of erotic conquest and idolatry. Through divine intervention, Canutus' personal *telos* has altered: instead of extirpating the English, he sets his heart on corrupting and conquering the nun.

Although in a much less spectacular and bombastic manner, the sudden change in Elgina's emotional disposition is equally transparently represented on stage. After the Danes have sacked Winchester, Elgina dismisses Erkinwald's advances, explaining that she will give him her answer only after discussing his suit with the king; '[t]ill then', she claims, she will 'love no other'.[734] As we know, Elgina is a twin of Hidaspes, a virtuous maid who has already 'refus'd all the great Princes in one part of the world'.[735] Elgina is being truthful: she neither scorns nor claims to love. But immediately after her response to the Danish Lord,

[731] Ibid.
[732] Ibid., I.iii.72–81.
[733] Ibid., I.iii.88–89.
[734] Ibid., I.iii.220.
[735] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.i.19–20.

soldiers enter, dragging in a disguised Alured. The moment she first identifies Alured as her future lover is dominated by a sense of bewilderment and wonder:

> [Alured is] Some God, I think, disguis'd in humane shape,
> Come down to court us with bewitching looks,
> There's something tells me, if my thoughts speak truth,
> To thee I owe the pleasure of my youth.[736]

Unlike Canutus, Elgina offers no particular resistance to divine power but immediately accepts and internalizes God's providential plan for her. She speculates about the source of her affection, but she does not doubt her own agency in love ('my thoughts', 'I owe', and later, 'By Jove I love him'),[737] which is in stark opposition to how Hidaspes rationalizes her newly-discovered passion. Hidaspes is aware of her hypocritical position, but ascribes her love solely to Cupid's command, which is imposed on her without involving her free will:

> Forgive me *Cupid*, for thou art a god,
> And I a wretched creature; I have sinn'd,
> But be thou mercifull, and graunt that yet
> I may enjoy what thou wilt have me love.[738]

[736] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.230–33.
[737] Ibid., I.iii.283.
[738] *Cupid's Revenge*, I.iv.33–36.

In representing how grace interacts with the individual's free will, Brewer substantially differs from Beaumont and Fletcher's approach. In *Cupid's Revenge*, as soon as Cupid announces the choice of his next victims, they already appear on stage in their new, transformed state. Cupid controls depraved humans with absolute force and freedom; his affliction grabs its victims instantly, absolutely, and unavoidably. On the other hand, in *The Lovesick King*, Canutus' and Elgina's gradual emotional transformations are fully staged, which allows for a better assessment of how their free will interacts with an imposed command. Moreover, although divine intervention pushes them in the opposite direction, it does not fundamentally alter their personalities or moral codes. After being pricked by Cupid's arrow, Hidaspes becomes impatient and filled with degrading passion for Zoylus. Conversely, Elgina remains composed and in control of her desire, an example of patience, duty, and constancy in love. Similarly, Canutus remains a slave to his affections, just as he was before being afflicted by God. Their existing personalities qualify God's providential interference. Although the gift of love, which Canutus and Elgina receive, is undoubtedly of varying quantity or intensity, for curbing Canutus' tyrannical disposition requires a much greater opposing force, it is not qualitatively predisposed. Canutus and Elgina are simply commanded to love; how they will react to God's grace is left for them to decide. Elgina chooses the path of chaste love, Canutus of beastly pleasure.

In a play so fixated on the individual's free choice, such theologically grounded expositions of a relationship between God's grace and free will should not surprise us. In the previous chapter, I have provided a detailed analysis of how Brewer relies on Herculean motifs to construct Cartesmunda's freedom and, more importantly, Alured's cooperation with divine providence. Through his Herculean virtue, Alured concludes that by reciprocating Elgina's love he is following the path of Virtue and cooperating with God's grace, which will procure his freedom and ultimately secure peace in England. Neither are

Canutus' and Elgina's actions fundamentally more restricted and predetermined; Brewer is equally eager to stress their freedom and responsibility for their actions.

The oath-taking, as I will demonstrate below, is used extensively throughout the play to comment on the issue of Catholic loyalty and the soundness of the Jacobean oath of allegiance. But aside from their political connotations, the instances of oath-taking are again employed as moments of condensed personal freedom. Moreover, oaths taken by Cartesmunda and afterwards Canutus are particularly intriguing because they function as self-fulfilling prophecies. Again, Brewer borrowed the motif from *Cupid's Revenge*, where guilt-ridden Leucippus is forced to perjure himself by falsely swearing that his mistress Bacha is 'Of the most strict and blamelesse chastity / That ever woman was'.[739] Appended to his oath are certain conditions, which are called upon to happen, if Leucippus is not telling the truth. Cartesmunda's and Canutus' oaths are similar to that of Leucippus in so far as they also invoke elaborate self-punishments in case of perjury, which prophetically come true. However, unlike the Prince of Lycia, Canutus and Cartesmunda are not consciously lying at the time of oath-taking, but are in fact swearing in earnest. Cartesmunda essentially retakes her vow of chastity only to specify that in case of breaking it she may give up her virginity 'To such a man, whose lust and poisoned breath / May soon reward [her] sin, and be [her] death'.[740] Canutus, on the other hand, swears fidelity to Cartesmunda and vows never to 'neglect [her] love, or touch [her] life' unless he is to lose all future battles, 'all the conquering Danes have got / And end [his] days with shame and inward grief'.[741]

Both oaths are tightly interconnected, representing as much a sequence of covenants between individuals as one between individuals and God. The moment of Canutus' oath-taking is the moment of Cartesmunda's perjury, for she only yields to the Danish king after

[739] *Cupid's Revenge*, II.ii.156–58.
[740] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.18–19.
[741] Ibid., II.iv.33–36.

he has sworn not to touch her life, which, at least for the time being, neutralizes Cartesmunda's self-imposed punishment. Both oaths are sworn in the presence of the Christian God ('Upon my knees to you and Heaven I swear' and 'Your words be registred, with hands divine'),[742] so their performing and eventual fulfilment should be interpreted as a consequence of mutual cooperation between individual free will and grace. When summoned, God answers, thereby respecting the autonomous decisions of individuals.

Both oaths are, however, morally problematic from various confessional positions and could even be perceived as unlawful, not least because they are both taken rashly; in Cartesmunda's case, out of arrogant defiance and, in the case of Canutus, to achieve explicitly sinful ends. Cartesmunda's vow in particular could be furthermore subjected to extensive critique, for issues of celibacy and vows of continence were a continuous point of contention between Catholics and Protestants.[743] A more interesting point to be made at this point, however, is that both Cartesmunda and Canutus openly confess their individual responsibilities for their ruin:

> Cartesmunda: My Fate is come, great King, my vestal Vow,
>
> That broken, with my wish is faln upon me.
>
> For your fair love I fayl'd my faith with heaven,
>
> And from your hand my death is justly given.
>
> Such was my former wish, farewell Canutus.[744]

[742] Ibid., I.iii.14; III.iv.37.
[743] See a concise summary of the debate in Leila Geller, 'Widows' Vows and *More Dissemblers Besides Women*', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 5 (1991), 287–308 (pp. 291–95). For more general discussion of what constituted a lawful oath in early modern England, see John Kerrigan, Shakespeare's Binding Language (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 9–15; Jonathan Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 17–50.
[744] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iv.114–18.

Canutus: Give me no Ranson sir [Alured], O let me dye,

In Cartesmunda's death I brake my vow,

And for her sake I have neglected all,

And willingly have sought mine own sad ruin […][745]

It was her own wish, claims Cartesmunda, to break her vow of chastity, while Canutus has not been forced to swear his damnable oath nor to indulge in fornication by divine power, but willingly pursued this sinful end.

What conclusions can we make regarding Brewer's theology of grace in *The Lovesick King*? If *Cupid's Revenge* articulates criticism of Calvinism by representing a caricature of its doctrine of predestination, what confessional position, if any at all, is favoured by Brewer? Brewer is considerably more concerned with stressing the autonomy and free will of his characters than Beaumont and Fletcher. Although they all share an anti-Calvinist position, Brewer uses a different strategy to make it explicit. Instead of caricaturing Calvinist predestination and invoking latent anxieties about salvation, he substitutes it completely with an alternative model in which human free will is compatible with God's grace. Such a stance could only have been inspired by the Catholic or Arminian doctrine on the economy of salvation.

After the Reformation, Catholics were forced to emphasise the importance of man's free will precisely because Protestant belief in the absolute sovereignty of God stressed the utter inability of humans to attain salvation through their own merits. Hard-line Calvinists therefore believed that individuals could only be saved if they had been selected by God before all time among the elect, '[f]or all are not created to like estate: but to some, eternall

[745] Ibid., V.ii.62–65.

life, and to some, eternall damnation is foreappointed'.[746] During the sixth session of the Council of Trent in 1547, a decree on justification was issued, which countered Protestant heresy and became a basis for future Catholic development of the precise role of God's grace and human free will in salvation. The fifth chapter reads:

> Justification is to be derived from the prevenient grace of God, through Jesus Christ, that is to say, from His vocation, whereby, without any merits existing on their parts, they are called; that so they, who by sins were alienated from God, may be disposed through His quickening and assisting grace, to *convert* themselves to their own justification, by freely assenting to and co-operating with that said grace; in such sort that, while God touches the heart of man by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, neither is man himself utterly without doing anything while he receives that inspiration, forasmuch as he is also able to reject it; yet is he not able, by his own free will, without the grace of God, to move himself unto justice in His sight.[747]

We can undoubtedly detect such free cooperation of individuals with God's grace in *The Lovesick King*. But criticism of double predestination was also mounting from the Reformed side. Inspired by Jesuit teaching on grace, which particularly favoured the significance of human free will, Jacob Arminius (1559–1609), Dutch theologian and Protestant minister, rejected predestination.[748] In the early seventeenth century, his doctrine caused public controversy in the Low Countries and soon spread to England.[749] Although Arminianism in

[746] Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, III.xxi.5.
[747] *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, transl. and ed. by J. Waterworth (London: Burns and Oates, 1888), pp. 32–33.
[748] For discussions of Catholic and Arminian theologies of grace see Thomas Marschler, 'Providence, Predestination, and Grace in Early Modern Catholic Theology', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800*, ed. by Ulrich L. Lehner et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 89–103; Keith S. Stanglin, 'Arminian, Remonstrant, and Early Methodist Theologies', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800*, pp. 387–401.
[749] Freya Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

the Church of England only gained ground in the late 1620s and 1630s, it found its early proponents in James I's reign in the Durham House group.[750] In fact, in May 1617, three notable proponents of Arminian innovation in England were present in Newcastle: Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, who was soon afterwards translated to Durham, and the latter's protégé William Laud, the future Archbishop of Canterbury.[751] In any case, if an association of Brewer's theology of grace with Catholicism is strong, but not exclusive, we must conclude that its position is at least critical of radical Calvinism. As we will see, other aspects of *The Lovesick King* agree with such a reading.

5.3 Iconoclasts turned Idolaters

In *Cupid's Revenge*, the belief of Hidaspes and Leucippus that worshipping Cupid is idolatrous is explicit and central to the plot. Their attack on superstition proves fatal, provoking the god's anger. Although Danish hatred for the Christian God in *The Lovesick King* is not as explicit, I argue that it nevertheless semantically participates in anti-Protestant polemic. In other words, because Brewer appropriates Catholic anti-Calvinist attitudes and narratives to identify the Danish disposition as heretical, we can read the Danish invasion of England allegorically. The audience, sensitive to the issues of Protestant iconoclasm, would be left in little doubt about the nature of Canutus' corruption of England and its native Church.

Knolles' account of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 describes the Turkish plundering of the basilica of Hagia Sophia and their ruthless desecration of the great cross:

[750] Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 106–24.
[751] Sinclair, 'The Scottish Progress', p. 24–25; Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, pp. 113–19.

> Many for safeguard of their liues, fled into the Temple of Sophia; where they were all without pittie slaine […] The rich and beautifull ornaments and jewels of that most sumptuous and magnificent Church […] were in the turning of a hand, pluckt downe and carried away by the Turkes: and the Church it selfe built for God to be honored in, for the present nouerted into a stable for their horses, or a place for the execution of their abhominable and vnspeakable filthinesse: the Image of the crucifix was also by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and so set vp and shot at with their arrows; and afterwards in great derision carried about in their campe, as it had been in procession, with drums playing before it, railing, and spitting at it, and calling it the god of the Christians.[752]

In early modern Europe, the stereotypical cruelty of the demonized common enemy of Christendom would have been, generally speaking, sharply condemned. Yet for either Protestants or Catholics, Turks were not necessarily a worse enemy than their confessional opponents.[753] In Protestant England, Turkish derision of the crucifix, as described by Knolles, might have been received as less problematic but potentially also subversive, depending on how the narrative was framed. Knolles seems to be very much aware of the difficulties in representing Turkish iconoclasm, so his description is immediately followed by a qualifying statement which defuses any of the interpretative tension and aligns him with Protestant orthodoxy: 'Which I note not so much done in contempt of the image, as in the despite of Christ and the Christian religion.'[754] Ottomans, Knolles claims, were not

[752] Knolles, *The Generall Historie*, p. 347.
[753] For the fluidity of the signifier 'Turk' in both Catholic and Protestant polemical discourse see Stephan Schmuck, 'The "Turk" as Antichrist in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1570)', *Reformation*, 10/1 (2005), 21–44; Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 54–79; Peter Marshall, '"Rather with Papists than with Turks"', *Reformation*, 17/1 (2012), 135–159.
[754] Ibid. The same desecration of the crucifix in Constantinople is discussed by John Foxe in *Acts and Monuments* (1570), who instead of rebuking it, attacks Catholics for giving the Turks the opportunity for such offence by their idolatrous superstition (Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 62).

destroying Christian images out of contempt for religious art forms, like Protestants did, but simply because they disdained Christianity itself. In this way, Protestant iconoclasm, whose goal was to reform Christian worship, is dissociated from infidels' witless destruction.[755]

But from the Catholic perspective, this was empty sophistry. Although the Protestants first used the image of the Turk as a polemical weapon against Catholics – for example, in Luther's Bible and the second edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which both link the Great Turk with the pope – the discourse was quickly adopted by their opponents, who turned it back at them, particularly when attacking Calvinism.[756] William Reynolds' extensive exposition on the similarities between Calvinism and Islam in *Calvino-Turcismus* (1597), which had already been part of Catholic polemical writing for decades, substantially influenced the subsequent English Catholic controversialists, such as Richard Verstegan. '[C]ruelty, iconoclasm, and the emphasis on God's arbitrary power over creation' were the main points of similarity between Calvinists and Muslims, and vigorously explored by English Catholic polemicists in order to deride the Protestant ecclesiastical establishment.[757]

More importantly, accusing English Protestants of intolerable Turkish bias was not just a convenient discursive invention. In the late 1570s, Anglo-Ottoman relations considerably improved; the isolated Elizabethan regime found a new trading partner in the

[755] In the Church of England, crucifixes and crosses were regarded as images and were removed from public places of worship. The exception was the royal chapel and the sign of the cross used at baptism. Although Protestant and Catholic opinions on the image of the cross in England should not be perceived as a complete binary opposition, the standard articulation of Catholic and Protestant positions can be found in John Martiall's *The Treatyse of the Cross* (Antwerp, 1564) and James Calfhill, *An Aunswere to the Treatise of the Crosse* (London, 1565) respectively. Cf. also Nicholas Sander's apology for the cross and criticism of Bishop Jewel's position in *A Treatise of the Images of Christ and of his Saints* (Louvain, 1567), fols. 127^{r}–137^{v}.

[756] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 56–60; Schmuck, 'The "Turk" as Antichrist'; on the centrality of anti-Calvinism in English Catholic polemics and Catholic identity formation see Peter Marshall, 'John Calvin and the English Catholics, c. 1565–1640', *The Historical Journal*, 53/4 (2010), 849–870.

[757] Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Louvain: Louvain University Press, 2004), p. 205; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 60–62.

Turks, whom it supplied with weapons and raw materials, such as tin, lead, and iron.[758] Even more scandalous for Catholics was both the fact that Elizabeth approached Sultan Murad by stressing doctrinal identity between the two regimes – Elizabeth identified herself as a 'defender of the Christian faith against all the idolatry' – and that the Elizabethan establishment profited in their trade with infidels from material which had been harvested through iconoclastic purges of English churches.[759] The European powers, particularly France, who traditionally controlled the European trade with the Ottomans, interpreted Elizabeth's arms trade with the Turks as treasonous to Christendom, whilst English Catholics were eager to intensify their attack on the Calvinist regime denounced as shamelessly profiting from iconoclasm and converting the whole of England to Mohammedanism.

In Richard Verstegan's writings, the juxtaposition of English Calvinists with infidel Turks is particularly notable.[760] In *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles* (1592), for example, he speculates that Turks are unlikely to invade England due to their geographical remoteness, but if they were, English would gladly 'exchange their *Geneua Bible*, for the *Turkish Alcoran*'.[761] More importantly, his *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (1587) considered Calvinists the most inhumane of heretics and exaggerated their cruelties as far worse than atrocities committed by either Turks, Scythians, or Tartars.[762] In Petrus Frarinus' oration *Against the vnlawfull insurrections of the Protestantes of our time*, delivered at Louvain University and translated into English in 1566 by John Fowler, the Huguenot violation of the crucifix at St Macaire is compared to Turkish blasphemies in Constantinople:

[758] Jonathan Burton, 'Anglo-Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in *Tamburlaine*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30/1 (2000), 125–56 (pp. 130–34).
[759] Burton, 'Anglo-Ottoman Relations', pp. 134–38; Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 65–66.
[760] Cf. Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 67, 70–72. For Verstegan's role in English martyrology see Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, pp. 243–76.
[761] Richard Verstegan, *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realm of England* (Antwerp, 1592), p. 49.
[762] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 70.

> They broke and burned the crosse, and mocked at it euerie where as the Turkes did sometime at Constantinople, neither were they satisfied with that: they toke two innocent good Priestes and hanged them vpon eche side of the Crucifix like the two theeues for contempt & reproche.[763]

The self-professed Gospellers, as Frarinus calls them, were 'in blasphemies, madness, furie, rage, crueltie, butcherie far passing the Turkes Tyrannie'.[764]

The image of the Calvino-Turks, the narrative of the Turkish sack of Constantinople, and its reuse in anti-Protestant invectives, importantly influenced the plot and characters of *The Lovesick King*. We know that Brewer's Turks turned Danes. But in order for Brewer to both recycle Barksted's poem and set his plot in Anglo-Saxon England, Sultan Mehmet (Barksted's Mahomet) had to be disguised as Canutus. Although such alteration seems completely accidental, it is in fact in alignment with contemporary theories of geohumoralism, which theorized that Turks and Scythians originated in the north and were primordially northern peoples.[765] The northerners, which of course included other nations still inhabiting the north, such as Britons, Danes, and north Germans, shared an inclination for cruelty, barbarism and heresy, for 'the overheated humoral bodies of northerners' had a propensity for 'the "unnatural heat of heresies"'.[766] Therefore, when English Catholics slandered Protestant heretics as Turks, the comparison was not simply rhetorical. On the other hand, presenting heretics as overheated individuals was a commonplace in Catholic polemical writing:

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[763] Petrus Frarinus, *An oration against the vnlawfull insurrections of the protestantes of our time*, trans. by John Fowler (Antwerp, 1566), sig. D3[r].
[764] Frarinus, *An oration against the vnlawfull insurrections*, sig. Jiiij[r].
[765] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 73.
[766] Ibid., pp. 73–74.

> O ye virtuous Refourmors […] The flame of your fyrie Charitie was so hot, that ye dydde your beste to burne vp quite other mens faultes, yea, the men themselues, theyr Cities, houses, dwellings and all. But ye would not so much as sweale your owne Coates with the leaste sparkle of that consuming fyre.[767]

In *The Lovesick King*, geohumoral theory was either deliberately applied or unconsciously acknowledged. It strengthens the overarching notion that Canutus' burning amorous desire is closely linked to his natural disposition for the heat of heresy. Mentions of 'hot' Winchester under Danish occupation are therefore as much references to its sexual activity as to heresy and spiritual fornication.[768]

If Canutus is Mahomet in disguise, then we may want to think of England as the Byzantine Empire and, more importantly, Winchester as Constantinople. Aside from the romance of Canutus and Cartesmunda, which is, as we know, modelled on the affair between Mahomet and Hiren, there is other evidence supporting the conflation of the two cities and, as we shall see later, Newcastle as well. During the Danish assault of Winchester, the English fortunes start to change after the treason of Osbert, Duke of Mertia. As he ravages through the city's streets,

> The aged Father of St. Swithins Abby,
>
> That with his holy Cross between his hands,
>
> Mounted the Walls to cause the Souldiers on
>
> To fight for Freedom and Religion,
>
> Seeing this Treason, hath retir'd himself,

[767] Frarinus, *An oration against the vnlawfull insurrections*, sig. Cij[r].
[768] Cf. *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.187; II.i.187–89.

And on the holy Altar heaves his hands,

Awaiting death […][769]

The 'holy Cross' has not been left behind on the walls, but is later brought down by the abbot to the church. The stage directions read: 'Alarm. A great Cry within. Enter Abbot bearing a Cross, Cartesmunda with two Tapers burning, which she placeth on the Altar, two or three Nuns following'.[770] An unmistakably Catholic space is produced on stage, with a big cross and an altar (with candles), surrounded by virgin nuns. As I have already pointed out, the scene altogether resembles the representation of Cupid's temple in Beaumont and Fletcher, to which a statue of Cupid is central, but may also have included paintings and an altar.[771] However, in *The Lovesick King*, instead of a relatively mild government commissioner, Danish soldiers appear, who, being spurred on by Canutus, start killing the nuns and ransacking the church. In *Cupid's Revenge* we see state-supported, orderly iconoclasm; in *The Lovesick King*, mad raging of a heretical multitude. The fortunes of the cross and altar remain unknown, for no specifically iconoclastic actions, cries, or commands are articulated. During performance itself, the cross was probably assaulted or derided, just like it would have been by the Turks, but we cannot be certain. What we can be confident about is that the audience has indeed witnessed a desecration of a Catholic sacred space, an action which by itself would be sufficient to remind the audience of recent Protestant iconoclasms, both in England and on the Continent.

But as much as Brewer's dramaturgy suggest an interpretation of events similar to the one proposed by Knolles – i.e. the Danes do not really care for images, they are just savages – the play's attention on church furnishings, in particular, the cross, which are about

[769] Ibid., I.i.48–54.
[770] Ibid., I.iii.
[771] Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid*, p. 50.

to be desecrated, is remarkable. If Brewer simply wanted to represent Danish savagery, he could have avoided putting the cross on stage, for by doing so, Danish ruthlessness would not have been diminished. Moreover, the church itself would have remained identifiably Catholic. Instead, by putting the cross on stage, Brewer expands the scene's ideological ambiguity and range of its interpretative possibilities with regard to Danish devastation. Because Brewer is not verbally articulating iconoclasm, the ideological significance of Danish sacrilege depends on the viewers' sensibilities: it could either have been ideologically neutralized, as in Knolles' case, or read as an allegory of Protestant iconoclasm. The presence of the cross, reminiscent of the one from Hagia Sophia, considerably increases the likelihood that the audience would have resorted to the latter interpretation.

Iconoclastic intrusion is followed by Canutus' seduction of Cartesmunda, which, following Barksted, Brewer again imagines in confessional terms. Both Mahomet and Canutus sanctify their lovers by employing conventional Petrarchan language ('fair Christian Saint', 'an Angel', 'divinest soul'),[772] but in Barksted, Mahomet's idolatry of Hiren has a more explicit ironic twist, for the antagonism between Greek nun and Turkish sultan is constantly articulated through the opposition between Catholicism and Islam. Even though Mahomet is an iconophobic Muslim, he succumbs to idolatry and fornication. By falling in love with saintly women whose beauty push both men towards idolatry, Mahomet and Canutus reproduce the logic of orthodox Protestant iconophobia. According to the official homily of the Church of England, the images have to be removed from the places of worship and destroyed 'because the nature of man is none otherwise bent to worshiping of images, if he may have them and see them, than it is bent to whoredom and adultery in company of

[772] *Hiren*, 20.1; *The Lovesick King*, II.iv.1; II.iv.16.

harlots'.[773] God himself calls idolatry spiritual fornication and does 'it [God] not call a gilt or painted idol or image a strumpet with a painted face? Be not the spiritual wickedness of an idol enticing like the flatteries of a wanton harlot?'[774] First, they both commit spiritual fornication, meaning idolatry, which leads into carnal fornication. The same holds true for the seduced women, who first have to be ready to break the vows of chastity and abandon their religion to be able to engage in damnable sexual activity.

But because Barksted's narrative is more explicitly based on the opposition between idolatrous Catholicism and iconoclastic Islam, Mahomet's seduction of Hiren more obviously assumes qualities of a perverse religious disputation. Paradoxically, in order for Hiren to commit carnal fornication, she first needs to convert to iconophobic Islam:

> Dearest, I'le teach thee my diuinity,
>
> Our Mecha's is not hung with Imagery,
>
> To tell vs of a virgin-bearing-sonne,
>
> Our adoration to the Moone is set,
>
> That pardons all that in the dark is done.[775]

Hiren responds with an oath, just as Cartesmunda does, but with an explicit reference to the veneration of images, which, however, smacks of unorthodoxy: '[W]hat I prize more precious then imagery, / Heauens, grant the same my bane and ruine be'.[776] Hiren's views on 'imagery' transgress the official Catholic teaching, which, as Alison Shell suggests,

[773] *The Third Part of the Homily against Images and the Worshipping of Them*, in Griffith, *Two Books of Homilies*, p. 247.
[774] Ibid., p. 248.
[775] *Hiren*, 20.4–8.
[776] Ibid., 21.6–7.

makes her a bad Catholic.[777] Since Barksted constructed Hiren as a counter-example to Shakespeare's chaste Lucrece, her flawed virtue, like Cartesmunda's, must eventually give way to moral inconstancy and finally apostasy. When after a long deliberation, Hiren is won by 'the hidden virtue of [a] kisse',[778] Barksted again launches into religious discourse, vividly describing Hiren's internal process of heretical self-justification and final break with Rome:

> Thus *Mahomet* blinds her with *Cupids* vaile,
>
> And this new conuertite building on hope,
>
> Loue makes folks hardy, alas the flesh is fraile,
>
> Dispences now a little with the Pope:
>
> And fro*m* restrictions giues her heart more scope.
>
> O Liberty, Author of heresie.
>
> Why with such violent wing dost thou assaile,
>
> To hurry virtue to impiety.
>
> No pardon will she now implore of *Rome*,
>
> Her selfe she pardons twenty times an houre,
>
> Nor yet an heretike her selfe doth doome,
>
> Since she hath *Mahomet* within her Power.[779]

[777] Alison Shell, 'Why Didn't Shakespeare Write Religious Verse?', in *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography*, ed. by Takashi Kozuka ans J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 85–112 (p. 99).
[778] *Hiren*, 57.6.
[779] Ibid., 61–62.1–4.

Although such explicit references to spiritual fornication and heresy are missing in *The Lovesick King*, they remain implicit. Cartesmunda breaks her vow and abandons Catholicism. She is transformed into a heretical 'painted Whore', clearly associated with the classical figure of Pleasure, but also the Whore of Babylon.[780] She no longer prays to heaven, interacting instead with pagan Juno.[781]

If places under Danish occupation, and in particular Winchester, are hot, the potential source of unwanted heat in Newcastle remains contained and is constantly exported: 'Newcastle Coals are Hereticks, and must be burnt at London', claims one of the colliers.[782] The only other heretics in the play, with whom coals share a desire for burning, are the Danes. The war is of course endangering the trafficking of coals, but mainly because of the heat generated by the Danes themselves, which makes coals superfluous: ''Twas purposed they [coals] sho'd ha gone to Winchester, but its thought since the Danes came thither, they have little need of Sea-coal, every place is so hot; they say a Taylor burnt his Goose, and yet no fire came neer him.'[783] The tailor burning his goose (iron) is of course a proleptic reference to hot Canutus' burning Cartesmunda, who is 'colder than Freezland snow', but the sexual undertones also have religious significance, for Canutus is not infecting Cartesmunda with venereal disease, but the disease of heresy.[784]

Brewer's sources, dramatic technique, and literary allusions encourage us to read the conflict between the English and the Danes allegorically and in confessional terms. If the

[780] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iv.103. Although Pleasure also offers wine to Hercules, Cartesmunda's pouring of heretical wine to Canutus also associates her with the Whore of Babylon (*The Lovesick King*, III.ii.49–62); cf. Thomas Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon*, I.i.85–91, II.ii.23–25, IV.iv.130–140, where the Empress pours wine for idolatrous monarchs. For a discussion of Protestant readings of the whore of Babylon see Victoria Brownlee, 'Imagining the Enemy: Protestant Readings of the Whore of Babylon in Early Modern England, c. 1580–1625', in *Biblical Women in Early Modern Literary Culture, 1550–1700*, ed. by Victoria Brownlee and Laura Gallagher (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 213–242.
[781] *The Lovesick King*, III.ii.3.
[782] Ibid., III.i.4–5.
[783] Ibid., II.i.187–89.
[784] Ibid., II.iv.2; cf. Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, pp. 316–17; cf. Porter's speech in *Macbeth*, II.iii.16.

Winchester Abbey represents the pre-Reformation Church invaded by hypocritical Calvinist heresy in the shape of Turks turned Danes, then the image of corrupted Cartesmunda should not be mistaken for a deriding Protestant representation of the Roman Catholic Church or the pope. Even so, Brewer is not excusing Cartesmunda's actions; she has broken her vow of chastity and is probably the only character in the play who will undoubtedly face damnation due to perjury. But the source of corruption is not in her 'true religious' vow,[785] which Calvinists deemed superstitious and 'built upon a sinful arrogance',[786] but in Canutus' heretical heat, which, as I have demonstrated, we can confidently associate with Calvinism.

In Catholic polemical literature, iconoclasts were in fact often perceived as the real idolaters and Brewer's play participates in this unmasking of Calvinist hypocrisy. One of the commonly raised accusations against Protestant iconoclasts in Catholic polemics was their covetousness. It was in fact plundering and private appropriation of Church goods which was perceived as real idolatry. Sander writes:

> They say we worship Idols in our Churches, which is not true, but certainly thei worship Idols in their hearts. For some of them so worshipped couetousnes, that […] yet they would imagine our Images to be Idols, that they might haue occasion to carie away our gilded crosses, our syluer candlesticks, and other iewels & Images of price. Let euery hones man confesse, which of vs is y^{e} more like to be y^{e} worshipper of Idols […] which of them can say he is free from Idolatry, who keepeth the Church goods in his priuate hands[.][787]

[785] Ibid., I.iii.20.
[786] Geller, 'Widows' Vows', p. 292.
[787] Sander, *A treatise of the images of Christ*, fol. 17$^{r–v}$.

The theme of covetousness and corrupt money transactions is widely explored in *The Lovesick King* and deeply confessionalized. Restraining greed is one of the three heroic virtues, which Alured masters; but so does his Newcastle double, Roger Thornton. In Brewer's play, prudence and generosity are the central qualities of a virtuous citizen. As we know, Thornton, the poor Northumberland pedlar, is offered employment by Newcastle Merchant Adventurer Goodgift. But before he enters the city he must make an account of his current possessions and pens it down on a tyle-stone, so that he will remember his humble beginnings: 'Here did Thornton enter in / With hope, a half penny, and a Lambs-skin.'[788] Simultaneously, he makes a vow about how he will dispense with all the promised riches once he has received them:

> […] then will I view my Ware-houses, disperse my coyn, comfort the poor, I and perhaps build Churches. […] Then will I have some Fifty Beades-men in my life time, for that's the first way to be prayed for here, and mourned for when I am gone […][789]

There are multiple points to be made. First, Thornton's vow parallels all the other vows in the play, in particular those of Cartesmunda and Canutus, which function as self-fulfilling prophecies. Secondly, because the account of his fortune is written in verse, the process of writing is represented as a consequence of poetic rapture or madness, which is noticed by the bystanders.[790] Although the scene is full of brilliantly paced humour, there is no reason for us not to believe that Thornton is, like Randolf claims, indeed 'possest with some strange

[788] *The Lovesick King*, II.i.70–71.
[789] Ibid., II.i.81–87.
[790] He first invokes 'sweet Helicon' and later concludes that 'if there be any Helicon in England, 'tis here at Newcastle, I am inspired with it' (*The Lovesick King*, II.i.40; II.i.73–74).

talking spirit, that Dialogues within him'.[791] Martin has rightly suggested that the whole scene alludes to the official procedure used to inquire into an individual's sanity.[792] However, Thornton, as the citizens soon find out, is not really mad, but mainly seems to be foolishly certain that a highly unlikely future contingency, in relation to which he makes some bold promises, will eventually come true.[793] Thirdly, and most importantly, the future distribution of his wealth will be dominated by practices of Catholic piety: charity towards the poor, who in turn will pray for the benefactor's soul, and contributions towards church fabric. These Catholic practices are presented as local, as 'the way to be prayed for here', which reinforces Newcastle's Catholic identity. When Thornton indeed performs all 'pious, holy, and religious' works, he promised to accomplish, his Newcastle business partner leaves no doubt about the economy of salvation, which Novocastrians advocate: 'And in the goodness if you [Thornton] still persever / You build your self a house in Heaven for ever.'[794] When reading the play, we expect Thornton's naïve project to crumble imminently, but Brewer completely defies our expectations. In Brewers' idealized pre-Reformation past, Thornton can acquire immense wealth without giving in to greed.

On his return from his first voyage at sea, Thornton fortunately stumbles upon six tuns of gold which have been misidentified as containing iron. As a pious and virtuous man, Thornton immediately starts fulfilling his given promise, for the possession of this unimaginably large sum of money stirs in him anxieties over possible idolatry:

> I keep possession of six Tun of gold.

[791] *The Lovesick King*, II.i.84–85.
[792] Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 310.
[793] Brewer borrowed the motif of Thornton as a prophesying pedlar from the anonymous play *Pedlar's Prophecy* (1595). But whereas the Pedlar in the anonymous play has Protestant propensities, Thornton is a Catholic.
[794] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iii.43–44.

The blessings strange, and I must now resolve

To tie my vows to my auspicious fate,

Lest the world curse, and Heaven call me ingrate;

To make of this my gold a household God,

Were meer Idolatry, no't shall fly abroad:

Newcastle, to thy good, large sums of love

My promise oweth, which ile pay, and prove,

To grace thy fame, Ile beautifie thy ground,

And build a wall that shall imbrace thee round.[795]

Unlike Jonson's Volpone, Thornton has no intention of worshiping gold as a household god.[796] He fears wealth as much as Protestants fear painted images.[797] Without understanding *The Lovesick King*'s underlying Catholic criticism of Protestant iconoclasm, which is present throughout the play, Thornton's fears and actions seem cryptic and meagrely motivated. But recognizing the ideological basis for Thornton's generosity, which is now extended to the whole city, puts Newcastle in sharp opposition to the covetousness and idolatry of the Danish-occupied Winchester.

Although the English Kings have been paying a 'just Tribute' for a 'hundred thirty years' to Danes, these annual sums were not sufficient to the overlords: now, Danes have conquered the whole realm of England and are about to 'Ransack the Temple, and each private house'.[798] The tribute, which Alured at the end of the play officially abolishes, has

[795] Ibid., III.i.210–19.
[796] *Volpone*, I.i.1–27.
[797] Thornton's fear of wealth is again articulated when he is being courted by widowed Mrs. Goodgift. Widow assures him that his fears should not hinder their marriage, for his 'charitable works so well begun, will help to disperse the o'er plus freely' (*The Lovesick King*, III.ii.80–81).
[798] Ibid., I.ii.19–24.

no historical backing and is purely Brewer's invention.[799] In fact, the main reason for Danish invasion, as Canutus later explains, is that the English Kings have 'unjustly and rebelliously' failed to pay to Denmark this 'annual Tribute of ten thousand pounds'.[800] Alured disagrees. The English stopped paying because Canutus, and before him his father Hardiknute, demanded more than was their due: 'neither content / With that our Tribute, but would further seek / Our utter Extirpation'.[801] If Danish idolatrous worship of money emptied the treasury of the English King, then Thornton's Catholic fear of mammon must fill it up, countering the deficit caused by Danish tribute up to a penny. When Alured visits Newcastle, Thornton offers him a loan of 'ten thousand pounds […] to leavy Souldiers, / Which if you never pay, Ile never aske'.[802] The ideological dimension of Thornton's financial support of Alured would not remain unnoticed by the Newcastle audience and would certainly help to situate the actual loan, which James I most probably procured from the city of Newcastle, into a particular confessional perspective. The 'bounty' is a material expression of 'duty' and 'love', which subjects owe to their king no matter what their religious identity might be.[803]

Thornton's generosity towards Newcastle not only procures his salvation, but also displays his civic virtue and prudence, for by encircling the city with a new wall he has transformed it into a bastion against conquering Danes. Even Alured flatters him: 'Your goodness speaks you nobly: England is / Fam'd in this fair Town, much honored by your vertues.'[804] Thornton's display of prudence through his generosity and building of Newcastle walls bring us back to the fall of Constantinople. Among the chief causes for its ruin, Knolles explains, was the covetousness of its citizens:

[799] See Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 299.
[800] *The Lovesick King*, V.i.12–13.
[801] Ibid., V.i.22–24.
[802] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iii.127–29.
[803] Ibid., IV.iii.138–40.
[804] Ibid., IV.iii.104–05.

> But to speake of the hidden treasure, money, plate, jewels, and other riches there found, passeth credit; the Turkes themselues wondred thereat […] whereof if some reasonable part had in time been bestowed vpon defence of the cittie, the Turkish king had not so easily taken both it and the cittie. But euerie man was carefull how to increase his owne priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publike state […] Yea the securitie of the Constantinopolitans was such, that being always enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of so much as the inner wall of the citie [...] but suffered the officers which had the charge to see to the fortifying of the citie, to conuert the greatest part of the money into their own purses.[805]

That Brewer had Constantinople in mind when developing a contrasting civic virtue of Novocastrians is suggested by the inclusion of Knolles' moralistic excursus in the first surviving biography of Sir Richard Whittington, the legendary London mayor, who was a model for Brewer's Thornton. Heywood's *The Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington* was only published in 1656, but there is no reason to think that a similar narrative, now lost, had not been in circulation for much longer.[806] Whittington, who was a mayor at the time of the sack of Constantinople, was himself greatly affected by the disruption of trade caused by the war between the Turks and the Empire. But even though he had lost fifteen thousand pounds at sea, he was never 'so much as cast down or dismayed'.[807] On hearing the news, he had simply retorted, like Thornton would, 'God will send more'.[808] Whittington's indifference towards money is juxtaposed with the covetousness of Constantinopolitans:

[805] Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, pp. 347–48.
[806] Cf. the now lost play *The History of Richard Whittington of his Low Birth, his Great fortune* (1605) in Martin, *Edmond Ironside*, p. 178.
[807] Heywood, *The Famous and Remarkable History*, sig. D3^{v}.
[808] Ibid., sig. D4^{r}.

> The Turkes found therein so much treasure, that they wondred that the Citizens would not spend it upon souldiers for their ow[n] defence, but so dotingly to spare the true spending thereof, to become an enticing prey for their unreconcileable enemies: for indeed it was thought, that if the State would have hired souldiers, and given them goodpay [sic], they might have raised the siege of the Turkes. It is an old and true saying, Covetousnesse is the mother of ruin and mischief.[809]

By building the wall, paying for Alured's soldiers, and offering his own conquering colliers to fight, Thornton and Novocastrians indeed substantially contribute to expelling the Danes from England, for which they are justly rewarded. If covetousness and other forms of idolatry are the ruin of the Danes, then generous distribution of money, including investing in church fabric, promises social cohesion and spiritual purity. Instead of plundering churches, Thornton rebuilds them.[810] From such ideological positions peace and national unity can be achieved.

Aside from covetousness, English Protestants were regularly accused of other forms of idolatry. According to Nicholas Sander, by substituting 'the cross of Christ' with 'the arms of the king of England', Protestants acknowledged that 'they were worshipers, not of our Lord, whose image they had contemptuously thrown aside, but of an earthly king, whose armorial bearings they had substituted for it'.[811] In Catholic eyes, the greatest act of idolatry, and indeed mark of the beast, was replacing the head of the Church, Christ, and his vicar the pope, with a secular monarch.[812] Failing to understand the iconophobic reasoning of

[809] Ibid., sig. D4$^{r–v}$.
[810] See *The Lovesick King*, IV.iii.67–71.
[811] Nicholas Sander and Edward Rishton, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, trans. by David Lewis (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), p. 172.
[812] Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', p. 77.

Protestants, Sander sarcastically invited Bishop Jewel to '[b]reak […] if you dare the Image of the *Queenes Maiestie* or the *Armes* of the realme'.[813] While the English Catholics were much more forbearing towards King James, mainly because of his martyred mother and hatred of Puritans, Elizabeth became a target of harsh invectives, particularly after the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, which earned her the title of Jezebel of England.[814] As has already been discussed, the cult of Elizabeth, which appropriated Marian symbolism, was another considerable stumbling block for Catholics.[815] As Edward Rishton writes, the Protestants,

> to show the greater contempt for our Blessed Lady, they keep the birthday of queen Elizabeth in the most solemn way on the 7th day of September, which is the eve of the feast of the Mother of God […] And, what is hardly credible in the church of St. Paul, the chief church of London […] the praises of Elizabeth are said to be sung at the end of the public prayers, as the Antiphon of our Lady was sung in former days.[816]

'The bejewelled and painted image' of a Queen which supplanted the images of the Virgin Mary 'and went in progress through the land for her worshippers to adore', certainly seems to be alluded to in Brewer's Cartesmunda, 'richly attired and deckt with Jewels', which Canutus parades before his lords and eventually plants on his throne.[817] The latter is Brewer's invention; in Barksted, there is no mention of the throne. What both texts share, however, is

[813] Sander, *A treatise of the images of Christ*, 109r; cf. Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', p. 77.
[814] James Emerson Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 162–70. The association of the Old Testament idolatress with Elizabeth was common; see Edward Rishton's misogynist discussion in Sander and Rishton, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, pp. 238–40; and Anthony Munday's reports from the English College in Rome in *The English Romayne Lyfe* (London, 1590), p. 13.
[815] See McClure and Wells, 'Elizabeth I as a second Virgin Mary'.
[816] Sander and Rishton, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, pp. 284–85.
[817] Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', p. 75; *The Lovesick King*, IV.iv.20.1–2.

the use of imagery which was often utilized in Elizabethan eulogy. For Mahomet Hiren is 'Cinthia' and 'Phoebe', for Canutus, Cartesmunda is 'Chaster than Dian' and 'Dian in a Robe of stars'.[818] The virgin goddesses of the moon, which was itself a symbol of empire, were the most common epithets for Queen Elizabeth.[819] Should we therefore read Cartesmunda and her tragic end as a veiled criticism of the Virgin Queen? The notion is not improbable, especially if we consider her counterpart Elgina as an allegory of Catholic Queen Anne. Catholics in the audience in particular would therefore share Alured's sentiments that 'Beauteous Elgina' is 'worthier then [the] Nun' if historical referents for both characters were to be found among the recent English Queens. Moreover, the dialectics of idolatry represented though the interaction of Canutus and Cartesmunda corresponds to Catholic criticism of the nature and extent of sovereign power in Protestant thought. As we know, the initial opposition between Canutus and Cartesmunda is that of antithetical extremes, which structurally repeat the play's Herculean mythological grounding: Cartesmunda's ascetic abstinence stands in opposition to Canutus' uncurbed passions. Opposites attract, but their union is flawed; it does not represent a measured reconciliation of the two extremes, but their mutual corruption. Cartesmunda, seduced by secular pleasures, abandons her spiritual life for hedonism; Canutus, seduced by beauty, abandons the harshness of war for pleasures of peace. The cause of this corrupt union is their mutual idolatry of each other, which eventually escalates in Canutus' most scandalous and subversive act: enthroning of his beloved idol. Suddenly, worldly Cartesmunda, "map of the world", is not only a strumpet worshiped as a goddess, but an image of a sanctified temporal ruler. But interpreting Cartesmunda's enthroning solely as an anti-Elizabethan invective would be too narrow. Instead, Brewer is in general condemning Protestant idolatrous investment of temporal kings with spiritual power:

[818] *Hiren*, 100.2, 100.7; *The Lovesick King*, II.iv.2; III.ii.178.
[819] Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', pp. 72–3.

> Christ neuer commanded vs, to follow any secular prince in our belefe and religion. That precept remaineth for Antichrist, who setteth the Worlde aboue the Churche, and the earthly power aboue the heauenly.[820]

Alured, whose love is truly spiritual and not idolatrous, does not make the same mistake. His love, i.e. spiritual power, takes precedent over temporal duty, but not in a contradictory way. As we shall see, his nuanced manoeuvring between the two opposing forces are central to Brewer's commentary on the issues surrounding the oath of allegiance.

If Mahomet and Canutus are both iconoclasts turned idolaters, Mahomet, unlike Canutus, manages to ultimately deface his idol by beheading Hiren. He follows the pattern Huston Diehl has discovered in Jacobean love tragedies, in which 'violence against beautiful and beloved women' is 'informed by the iconoclastic violence against beautiful and beloved images'.[821] Brewer's deviation from that pattern is crucial. If Canutus had wilfully murdered Cartesmunda, he would have been, like Mahomet, restored to his former iconophobic heretical self. Instead, manslaughter plunges him, as he predicted, into inconsolable grief. But although a proper repentance or even conversion of the Danish king, such as we find in William Drury's *Aluredus sive Alfredus* (1619), is missing, Canutus is nevertheless integrated into the new tolerant society bound by love. In spite of being a horrible tyrant, the accidental killing of his beloved makes him a pitiable and redeemable character to whom Alured can justifiably show mercy. Brewer's vision of Britain is not one of exclusion and reconversion of heretics, but of toleration and coexistence.

[820] Nicholas Sander, *The Rock of the Church* (Louvain, 1567), pp. 517–18.
[821] Huston Diehl, 'Bewhored Images and Imagined Whores: Iconophobia and Gynophobia in Stuart Love Tragedies', *English Literary Renaissance*, 26/1 (1996), 111–137 (p. 113).

5.4 The Oath of Allegiance and Moderate Catholicism

Early in 1606, in the wake of the failed gunpowder treason, Parliament resolved on 'An act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants' (3 & 4 James, c.4), which included a new oath of allegiance to be tendered to every suspected Catholic.[822] The oath asserted that James was the 'lawful and rightful King of this Realm' and that the pope had no 'power or authority to depose' him or to 'discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty' even if the 'sentence of excommunication' against the king was proclaimed.[823] Moreover, the swearer must declare that he or she would 'abhore, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever'.[824] In his own published defence of the oath, James stated that his intention was merely to 'make a separation betweene so many of my Subiects, who although they were otherwise Popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their natural duetie to their Sovereigne' and those, who 'could not containe themselves within the bounds of their natural Allegiance, but thought diuersitie of religion a safe pretext for all kinde of treasons'.[825]

The king claimed he simply wanted to sift friend from foe, loyal Catholics from disloyal and treasonous ones. Although the oath condemned the pope's deposing power, taking it was merely a matter of declaring temporal allegiance. Immediately after the oath was published, many lay Catholics submitted to it, but others, and particularly clergy, opposed it, for they doubted its doctrinal soundness. And yet, in spite of Pope Paul V's first condemnation of the oath in September 1606, in which he stated that it was against faith and

[822] For a full text of the oath see Prothero, *Selected Statues*, or Joseph R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I, A. D. 1603–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).
[823] Tanner, *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 90–91.
[824] Ibid., p. 91.
[825] *Triplici Nodo*, in Summerville, *Political Writings*, p. 86.

that it could not be taken without jeopardizing one's salvation, Archpriest George Blackwell took the oath after being arrested in June 1607 and invited others to do the same.[826] The Catholic clergy was suddenly bitterly divided and in disarray. The controversy over the oath cut across the established clerical factions and broke their political unity.[827]

Although King James insisted on the oath's temporal aims, its wording cleverly intertwined the issues of state and Catholic doctrine, which possibly made it 'the most lethal measure against Romish dissent ever to reach the statute book'.[828] The most contentious article of the oath was the one alleging that the pope's deposing power was 'heretical' and 'damnable'. Accepting such a clause meant not only that many Catholic theologians 'who had defended it speculatively had been cut off from the life of the Church', but also that anyone who swore the oath acknowledged 'James's right to determine matters of orthodoxy'.[829] According to their responses to the oath, the English Catholics can be divided into three main groups: those who followed Blackwell and openly wrote in favour of the oath; the subsequent Archpriests, the Jesuits, and papalist theologians on the Continent, all of which supported the pope's condemnation of it; and, probably the largest, middle group, which consisted of mainly silent missionaries and recusants, 'who were pulled in both directions and did not know really what to do'.[830] Although only a very small number of Jesuits dissented from the order's general rejection of the oath, Benedictines, who returned to England as missionaries in 1603, and seculars were internally much more divided with regard to the issue.

[826] Ibid., pp. 89–90; Lunn, 'English Benedictines', p. 147.
[827] Michael C. Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power in Early Modern England: English Romanism and the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', *The Historical Journal*, 40/2 (1997), 311–29 (pp. 315–16).
[828] Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power', p. 313; for criticism of the notion that the oath was designed to function as a persecutory measure see Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought', pp. 172–78.
[829] Lunn, 'English Benedictines', p. 147.
[830] Ibid., p. 148.

The penalties for rejecting the oath, which included loss of property and imprisonment at the king's pleasure, were severe, but until 1610, the oath was applied only irregularly and inconsistently, particularly against lay Catholics.[831] After the assassination of Henri IV by a Catholic extremist, François Ravaillac, the Puritans at court and the king himself demanded a stricter enforcement of the oath; from 1610 until at least 1614 the oath was used vigorously and in conjunction with the penal laws.[832] Not only were those who swore the oath of allegiance not exempt from recusancy fines, but to those who yielded, authorities often immediately afterwards also tendered the oath of supremacy.[833] Thus, in practice, the oath could indeed have functioned as Catholic opponents believed it did in the first place: as an oath of supremacy in disguise. Cardinal Bellarmine asserted this point in his letter to Blackwell, where he claims that the oath is 'so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but he must bee constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolicke Sea'.[834]

Although the King may have wanted simply to stay alive and prevent any future assassination attempts, in practice, the oath was not designed to merely root out the small minority of dangerous extremists. It posed a serious dilemma even to the lay leaders of the English Catholic community, who cooperated with authorities; for them, 'who were, in almost every sense of the word, loyalists […] the deposing power was probably not, in itself, a major article of faith'.[835] However, their loyalism now had to be professed through a very narrow and controversial 'template which James had provided for them', which could seriously endanger their relationship with the Roman Church.[836] Among the northern

[831] For my discussion of the penalties see chapter 3; Tanner, *Constitutional*, p. 90.
[832] Michael Questier, 'Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England', *The English Historical Review*, 123/594 (2008), 1132–1165 (pp. 1140–41); Lunn, 'English Benedictines', p. 150.
[833] Ryan, 'The Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', pp. 181–83.
[834] *Triplici Nodo*, in Sommerville, *Political Writings*, p. 100.
[835] Questier, 'Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England', pp. 1142–43.
[836] Ibid., pp. 1142.

Catholic aristocracy and gentry, who were great supporters of James even before his succession and were much more willing to accommodate to the new regime, even with outward conformity, the taking of the oath was generally favoured.[837] But the northern clergy was much more divided on the issue. The Jesuit Richard Holtby was vigorously against swearing the oath.[838] In July 1611 he wrote a letter to his brother Robert Holtby, a recusant, who was imprisoned in Durham gaol and had already refused the oath twice:

> As for the Oath, yo*w* knowe my resoluc*i*on to be conformable vnto the Censure of the christe Pastor that it is altogether vnlawfull; and neither absolutely, nor w*i*th any condic*i*on, or protestac*i*on can be taken w*i*thout manifest periury, even in matters of religion.[839]

A year before, John Mush was sent to the north by Archpriest Birkhead to resolve the quarrel over the oath between secular priests and Benedictines, but he was hardly successful and was himself quickly attacked by hardy opponents of the oath, such as the secular priest Cuthbert Trollop.[840] On the other hand, Benedictines of the Cassinese congregation approved of the oath. Their superior was Thomas (Roland) Preston (1567–1647), who early in 1611 published a Latin defence of the oath *Apologia Cardinalis Bellarmini pro Jure Principum*, under the alias of Roger Widdrington, who was a Catholic squire from Cartington in Northumberland. Although this was not the first Catholic apology for the oath, it was considered the best and most influential: it caused an international sensation and was blamed for many lapses from the official position of Rome and the English Church.

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[837] Questier, 'Religious Conformity and James I's Accession'.
[838] Questier, 'Loyalty, Religion and State Power', pp. 313, 326–27.
[839] TNA, SP 14/65, fol. 21^{r}. However, Holtby does encourage his brother to find whatever other means he can to obtain and mitigate the conditions of his release, even by 'a little brybe of money' (fol. 21^{v}).
[840] Michael C. Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate of George Birkhead*, Camden Fifth Series vol. 12 (Cambridge: Cambirdge University Press, 1998), pp. 119–24.

At first, in 1606, Preston, together with the Jesuit provincial Holtby, condemned the oath, but soon after changed his mind and backed Blackwell.[841] However, in May 1610, having been arrested, he refused to take the oath and was imprisoned in London's Gatehouse. Later he was transferred to the Clink prison, but unlike other "Clinkers", the excommunicated pro-government priests who took the oath and publicly supported it, he remained a member of the Church and could not have been completely cut off by the pope, for there was no record of him publically swearing the oath.[842] Moreover, although his authorship of pro-oath tracts was widely suspected, he publically denied it and sustained an image of a steadfast monk, suffering his penalty for refusing the oath.[843] Keeping up this appearance could only have been possible with the support of the government. Indeed, his first book, which James praised as 'the best defence of his oath and his prerogative that had as yet appeared', and many subsequent ones, were published on the orders of the government.[844] The first English articulation of his position was published in 1613 as *A theologicall disputation concerning the Oath of Allegiance*; many more followed. Between 1611 and 1619, Preston wrote no fewer than eleven books, including translations.[845]

Preston's argument relies heavily on probabilism, a system of moral theology developed in sixteenth century, particularly by the Spanish Jesuits, such as Gabriel Vásquez (1551–1604) and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617).[846] Fundamentally, probabilists claimed that in ambiguous cases of practical moral reasoning, in which individuals had to base their decision on opinions, is was permissible to follow the opinion which was merely probable and not necessarily the most probable; whereby the opinion was deemed probable when it

[841] W. K. L. Webb, 'Thomas Preston, O.S.B., alias Roger Widdrington', *Biographical Studies*, 2 (1954), 216–69 (p. 222).
[842] Webb, 'Thomas Preston, O.S.B.', pp. 227–28.
[843] David Lunn, *The English Benedictines, 1540–1688* (London: Burns & Oates, 1980), p. 41.
[844] Lunn, *The English Benedictines*, p. 40.
[845] Ibid., p. 50.
[846] Ibid., p. 46.

was supported by at least one sound authority.[847] Following probabilism, Preston demonstrated that the 'heretical' and 'damnable' doctrine of the pope's deposing power was 'neither heretical nor', as papalists claimed, 'of faith; it was merely probable, by which he meant that it was doubtful or debatable'.[848] Therefore, in deciding whether to take or reject the oath, English Catholics could rely on Preston's exposition of the probable opinion in favour of the oath and swear it without explicitly denying or challenging papal authority. Preston's defence of the oath hit fertile ground, particularly among the well-off Catholics, who wanted to both satisfy the demands of the Holy See and protect their property. Already by early 1612, Archpriest Birkhead was not only convinced that Preston was the author of Widdrington's book, but also that the book was having a real effect on the zeal of laymen, of whom now only 'verie few do stand against the oath'.[849]

Whereas both papalist Catholics and English Protestants might have perceived the oath of allegiance as 'the ideological equivalent of the oath of supremacy, which asserted the right of the sovereign to govern the church in temporal matters', Preston endeavoured to sever the two spheres of authority.[850] The disagreement between Preston and one of his main critics, Robert Bellarmine, was not simply confined to the nature of the pope's deposing power, which Preston claimed was not *de fide*, but only probable. It stemmed from a much broader question about the origin of the sovereign power of secular monarchs. While King James maintained that royal authority came directly from God, Catholic writers, such as Bellarmine and Suárez, believed that the sovereignty of monarchs stemmed from the people,

[847] Lunn, *The English Benedictines*, p. 45; Nicole Reinhardt, 'How Individual was Conscience in the Early-Modern Period? Observations on the Development of Catholic Moral Theology', *Religion*, 45/3 (2015), 409–28; Jean-Louis Quantin, 'Catholic Moral Theology, 1550–1800' in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600–1800*, 119–134 (pp. 122–25); Stefania Tutino, *Uncertainty in Post-Reformation Catholicism: A History of Probabilism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[848] Lunn, *The English Benedictines*, p. 45.
[849] Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate*, p. 149.
[850] Ibid., p. 321.

save only the pope's spiritual power.[851] But how to negotiate between the temporal authority of kings and spiritual authority of the pope? Although among Christians spiritual and temporal power coincide, 'the same Christian man may be both a temporall, and also a spirituall Prince, as we see in the Pope', Preston disagreed with Bellarmine, who argued that the two authorities form 'one totall and compleat bodie, or common-wealth, consisting of temporall and spirituall power, whereof the *Pope* is the supreme visible head, and Christian Kings are not supreme, but depending on him not only in spirituals, but also in temporalls'.[852] Instead, Preston claimed that in each Christian commonwealth the two powers form 'two distinct communions, the one spirituall in things belonging to grace, and the other temporall in things belonging to nature'.[853] Whereas the temporal princes were the supreme visible heads of temporal communities, the pope was the supreme visible head of the spiritual community. Therefore, unlike Bellarmine, Preston did not believe that spiritual and temporal power existed in a single hierarchy, the latter being subdued to the former, as the body was to the soul.

In fact, Preston completely rebuffs Bellarmine's microcosmic comparison. Resorting to Aristotle, he first argues that body and soul 'make one *essentiall* compound […] whreof the bodie is the matter, and the soule is the forme', in which by natural necessity the body is subjected to the soul just as 'euery matter is *per se* and of it [sic] own nature subiect to the form'.[854] On the other hand, temporal and spiritual commonwealths do not make an essential compound, but an '*integrall* compound […] in the manner as the bodie of man is compounded of eyes, eares, tongue, hands, feete', in which it is not necessary that 'one part

[851] Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought', pp. 169–70. For more on post-Reformation Catholic political thought see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 114–84; Stefania Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[852] Roger Widdrington, *A cleare, sincere, and modest confutation* (London, 1616), pp. 137, 139.
[853] Widdrington, *A cleare, sincere, and modest confutation*, p. 146.
[854] Ibid., p. 216.

be subiect to another, although all must be subiect to the head'.[855] Consequently, neither temporal nor spiritual commonwealths are subjected to each other, but 'both of them are vnited and subiect to *Christ* the inuisible head of them both'.[856] The body and soul analogy is therefore inappropriate. Even if we grant it some relevance, Preston explains, the comparison could not prove that 'the spirituall power could either directly, or indirectly dispose of temporalls', deprive temporal princes of their power, or use temporal punishments.[857] Aside from the fact that there are many bodily actions which man's will has no power over, the ones where it has, such as 'to see, heare, speake, or goe', the soul cannot perform by itself 'without the concurrence of the body'.[858] The matter is thus concluded. For Preston, temporal and spiritual authority exist as an integral body, side by side, and not in a natural and intrinsically hierarchical relationship. Which, first, implies that the pope most probably has no power to depose kings, and secondly, that English Catholics can take the oath of allegiance because it only calls for their temporal obedience and does not affect their spiritual allegiance.

Preston's work gave a strong polemical voice to moderate Catholicism. But my interest pertains not only to the influence and pervasiveness of Preston's idea alone but also his northern connections. Although Roger Widdrington had no hand in the actual writing of tracts under his name, he was undoubtedly Preston's associate and patron.[859] Widdrington was a notorious borderlands recusant.[860] In May 1616, after a long smear campaign led by the Archdeacon of Durham, William Morton, Widdrington was committed to prison in London on suspicion of involvement in the Gunpowder plot and many other instances of

[855] Ibid., p. 217.
[856] Ibid., p. 217.
[857] Ibid., p. 217.
[858] Ibid., p. 218.
[859] Lunn, *English Benedictines*, pp. 41–44; Ann M. C. Forster, 'The Real Roger Widdrington', *Recusant History*, 11 (1971–72), 196–205 (p. 204).
[860] Forster, 'The Real Roger Widdrington'; McClain, *Lest We Be Damned*, pp. 230–32.

misconduct.[861] At the time, Thomas Chaytor penned in his diary: 'This moneth it was said Rog*er* Woddrington was committed att London for suspic*i*on of the pouder Treason as the Rumour went. but I suppose he was never so madd.'[862] Indeed, having been interrogated by Archbishop Abbot and Ralph Winwood on 30 May, Widdrington was acquitted and soon returned to the north, for on 30 July he appeared before Durham's High Commission to swear the oath of allegiance.[863] It is believed that Widdrington, who kept the pro-oath Benedictine John Clinch as chaplain at Cartington, played an important role in providing Preston with the necessary bibliographical material for his *Apologia*. He had been active in the illegal book trade; more importantly, being friendly and distantly related to Lord William Howard, he must have had access to Howard's library at Naworth, which was of unparalleled quality in the north.[864] Before acquiring James' support and protection, Preston would have made good use of its holdings, in particular the rich collection of Catholic controversial theology, which would have been difficult to obtain otherwise.[865]

On the other hand, the Howards' connections with Benedictines are equally significant. Monks were kept as chaplains at Naworth and it is very likely that it was due to their influence that Robert, one of the youngest sons of Lord Howard, decided to enter the order.[866] Until recently, two of Preston's titles were still present in Lord William Howard's

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[861] See John Smaithwaite's information against Roger Widdrington, TNA, SP 14/86, fols. 160^{r}–161^{v}; TNA, SP 14/87, fol. 16$^{r–v}$; TNA, SP, 14/87, fols. 18^{r}–19^{r}.

[862] PGL, Add. MS. 866, fol. 46^{v}.

[863] TNA, SP, 14/87, fols. 79^{r}–80^{v}; DCL, DCD/D/SJB/7, fol. 75^{r}. Cf. Forster, 'The Real Roger Widdrington', pp. 198–99.

[864] Morton complained to George Abbot that Widdrington had spread 'manie dangerous seducing books w*hi*ch hee mutch delited'. Even now, he claims, 'hee hath in his lodging' a 'pestilent booke w*hi*ch a Spaniard writ agenst his M*aie*stie' (TNA, SP 14/87, fol. 18^{r}). It is tempting to think that Widdrington's book might have been intended for Preston, so he could respond to it in his next tract.
Lord William Howard's third son Charles married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Widdrington, who was Roger's brother. Later, Francis Howard, Lord Howard's second son, took Mary, another daughter of Henry Widdrington, as his second wife. Henry Widdrington conformed to the Church of England, but most of his family remained Catholic. Through these marriages to the Widdringtons, Lord William Howard's influence in Northumberland was greatly increased (see Reinmuth, 'Lord William Howard', p. 239; Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Books*, pp. 10–11, 14).

[865] Lunn, *English Benedictines*, p. 42.

[866] We know by name at least one Benedictine chaplain, Augustine Hungate, who was at Naworth in 1633 (Lunn, *English Benedictines*, p. 229); Reinmuth, 'Lord William Howard', p. 228; Ruth E. Grun, 'A Note on

library: *A theologicall disputation concerning the Oath of Allegiance* (1613), and *Appellatio qua reverendi patres* (1620), which Preston co-authored with Thomas Green.[867] However, in the seventeenth century, a wider range of Preston's books was undoubtedly at Naworth library. In July 1611, Richard Smith, writing to Thomas More, Birkhead's agent in Rome, clearly linked Lord William Howard's swearing of the oath to the influence of Preston's *Apologia*:

> Some few daies after, my L. william tooke the oathe saying that no considerat man would refuse it. m[r] widdringt. booke doth much harme and if no greater auth*ority* be sett here more such books [wil]l come forthe […][868]

Moreover, Preston's last book on the subject, *A Patterne of Christian Loyaltie* (1634), testifies that links between the Howards of Naworth and Thomas Preston were not solely indirect. This time, the supposed author of the book was no longer Widdrington but most probably Sir William Howard of Brafferton, one of the younger sons of Lord William Howard.[869]

Considering Preston's influence, his northern network, and his connections with the court, it should not come as a surprise that some of his anxieties and attitudes are reflected in *The Lovesick King*'s political practice.[870] Both Preston's writing and Brewer's play

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William Howard, Author of *A Pattern of Christian Loyaltie*', *Catholic Historical Review*, 42 (1956), 330–40 (pp. 334–35).

[867] Ornsby, *Selections from the Household Book*, pp. 473, 476.

[868] Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate*, p. 117.

[869] Grun, 'A Note on William Howard', pp. 338–40; Lunn, 'English Benedictines', p. 155.

[870] Possibly irrelevant, but rather curious, is the mention of the village Preston in North Tyneside, where Thornton manages to buy his gold disguised as iron. The mention of Preston is suspicious because even though it is one of only a few references to local topography, it is imagined in the play to be either positioned on the river bank or by the sea, for Thornton claims that their ship put in 'at *Preston* for fresh water' (*The Lovesick King*, III.i.59). But because the village is located slightly inland, north of North Shields and west of Tynemouth, no vessel can really stop there. Perhaps instead of referring to Tynemouth, where a Benedictine monastery was established in the Middle Ages, Brewer may have preferred to name Preston in order to connect Thornton's good luck and loyalism with the Benedictine Thomas Preston.

encourage unequivocal loyalism to temporal authority, irrespective of potential religious difference. It would have been extremely risky for Brewer to openly address the painful controversy over the oath. Nevertheless, the themes of temporal allegiance, decision-making, and oath-taking are all paramount to *The Lovesick King*. Considering how multiple oaths in the play breed terrible consequences, we might expect Brewer's approach towards oath-taking in general to be negative. But rather than rejecting it altogether, Brewer in fact stresses its efficacy; through negative examples he develops the contexts, content, and limits of suitable oaths. Although the oaths taken by Cartesmunda, Canutus, and Alured are all in some capacity oaths of loyalty or fidelity, they differ substantially. The oaths of Canutus and Cartesmunda are rash and presumptuous, but most importantly they establish a radically antithetical world for themselves, one in which the oath-taker's freedom is drastically curtailed. Through their oaths, Canutus and Cartesmunda generate Herculean crossroads and position themselves between two morally disjunctive choices. They both echo a papalist understanding of the oath of allegiance, which stresses the oath's incompatibility with the spiritual allegiance of the oath-taker. Cartesmunda, for example, is prepared to die a martyr for her faith and sees no room for compromise with secular authority: 'My chastity stands at the Bar above, / My life I owe to you, but not my Love'.[871] For Brewer, oaths which generate such bipolar and exclusionary visions of the world are inevitably divisive, corruptive, and destructive.

On the other hand, Alured is more cautious in his oath-taking. Although limited to particular employment, his vow of loyalty to Erkinwald is considerably more general, and as flexible as possible in its wording. He swears in good faith by 'all that man may swear by' to be 'as true […] as truth is to the just'.[872] As in the case of Canutus and Cartesmunda, his oath of allegiance is tested. Having been courted by Elgina, he is invited to reciprocate

[871] *The Lovesick King*, I.iii.194–95.
[872] Ibid., II.ii.24–26.

her love and asked to make a choice. As we know, Elgina's courting is not only a test of Alured's loyalty to Erkinwald but also of his heroic virtue and capability to manoeuvre between conflicting authorities. The beauty of Alured's casuistry which follows Elgina's open profession of her love lies in its transformation of two evidently disjunctive choices into two compatible sources of authority and allegiance. Alured's attitude towards interpreting the oath is similar to Thomas Preston's. First, he prudently reads his vow as narrowly as possible. Then, he quickly finds a probable external opinion which can justify his actions and excuse him from perjury: 'I think there's no man / That can withstand the wooing of a woman'.[873] Alured does not cite any particular authority; rather, he relies on generally accepted belief. However, as we know, a set of particularly illustrious men who have themselves succumbed to women's charms and the power of love, such as Hercules and some Old Testament kings, were normally considered convincing precedents and justifications for a knight's transgressive love.[874]

Alured's double loyalty in particular can be seen as staging the major points of contention surrounding the oath and its Prestonian resolutions. Just as papalists claimed that taking the oath of allegiance was impossible without perjury, Erkinwald thinks that Alured's love for Elgina is impossible without his servant perjuring himself. Just as Preston uses probabilism to render an oath's doctrinal matters merely probable and debatable, Alured resorts to probable opinion to make a safe choice and justify his actions. Moreover, Alured is keen to prove that his spiritual allegiance to Elgina does not contradict or trump a purely temporal allegiance he owes to his enemy. Inventively and not without irony, Brewer rewrites the theatregram of a substitute wooer to comment on the central question Catholics

[873] Ibid., II.ii.64–65.
[874] See also Don Armado's deliberations (*Love's Labour's Lost*, I.ii.56–63); cf. also Gawain's justification for his failure to resist the nameless Lady, which mentions Adam, Solomon, Samson, and David as illustrious precedents (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, IV.2407–2428). Martin suggests that Brewer may be alluding to Shakespeare's Sonnet 41: 'And when a woman woos what woman's son / Will sourly leave her till he have prevailed?' (41.7–8).

faced at the time: how to reconcile their temporal and spiritual allegiances and satisfy both their conscience and their king. Through Alured's trials, Brewer compliments both Preston and King James, aligning himself with the sensibilities and political outlook of moderate Catholics.

However, the crucial exploration of the theme of loyalty occurs only after the main and subplot converge. No oaths are needed to secure the Novocastrians' allegiance to Alured. Their loyalty to the future king is represented as natural and already demonstrable from their acts of civic duty, which Alured recognizes immediately upon entering Newcastle:

> Your true Allegiance hath proclaim'd it self
>
> That never yielded yet to foreign Scepter,
>
> You have fortified your walls 'gainst all invasions.[875]

Newcastle has remained a safe haven against the Danish invasion and its heat of heresy, by being already – just as the whole island of Britain will be at the end of the play – protected ''gainst all invasion'.[876] In the idealized world of the play, Novocastrians do not need to swear an oath to demonstrate their loyalty. Under the leadership of prudent Thornton, loyalty comes naturally to them, manifesting itself in a keen sense of civic duty and heroism in war. Moreover, religious difference between Thornton and Alured is irrelevant or, better still, non-existent. There is no ideological difference or antagonism between these two; rather they are presented as a sovereign and a loyal subject fighting side by side against the ideological Other, which I have consistently identified as foreign and heretical. The fact that the loyalism of Newcastle's citizens is not presented as something negotiable, contentious,

[875] *The Lovesick King*, IV.iii.90–92.
[876] Ibid., V.ii.129.

and conditional, allows Brewer to postulate a moral and ideological equivalence between Alured and Thornton and instead focus on the mutual benefits of such harmonious love between subjects and their sovereign.

For Catholics, toleration was the only logical reward for loyalism.[877] But in *The Lovesick King*, where religious difference between the sovereign and his northern subjects is not at all articulated, no explicit demand of such kind can even be reasonably suggested. As we know, the play functions as an aetiological narrative for Newcastle's civic incorporation and the establishment of the Tyneside coal-trade monopoly, for at the end of the play, Alured rewards the Novocastrians for their loyalty by granting Thornton and Grim a number of corporate privileges. No religious demands are voiced, at least not by the citizens. And yet the issue of Danish tribute, which has already been addressed, could be interpreted as an allusion to penal laws. Because Brewer imagines recusancy fines as a foreign imposed tribute, the English king not only becomes innocent of its imposition but also assumes an active part in its abolition. The play encourages, as it were, King James, sitting in the audience, to emulate Alured: to shift his allegiance from the Calvinist faction and embrace a more moderate, even pro-Catholic position. Alured's description of English suffering under the Danish yoke is reminiscent of English Catholics' tribulation under Calvinists; in the same way as their Anglo-Saxon ancestors on stage, English Catholics are obliged to pay tribute to the heretics, which might impoverish them and even lead them to 'utter Extirpation'.[878] *The Lovesick King* is not an outspoken Catholic play written for a religiously homogenous audience, nor for a King who was seriously contemplating Catholic toleration, although such rumours were not uncommon even in times of intensified

[877] Cf. Questier, 'Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England', p. 1156.
[878] *The Lovesick King*, V.i.24.

persecution.[879] But there are nevertheless numerous elements and contexts in the play which allude to confessional struggle in England and enable a Catholic reading of the play.

The play's Anglo-Saxon historical context is of further importance. If the date of its performance is correct, then *The Lovesick King* is the first known play in the canon of British drama to stage King Alfred or Alured the Great.[880] Although Brewer took many liberties in portraying Alfred, some recognizable episodes from his biography remain: he is a unifier, a wise, just, and prudent king, but also forced to abandon his crown; he must disguise himself as a commoner to infiltrate the Danish camp.[881] Only three years after the Newcastle performance of Brewer's play, another play on Alfred the Great was published at Douai: William Drury's Latin tragicomedy *Aluredus sive Alfredus*. Drury was a secular priest and playwright educated at St. Omer and the English College in Rome.[882] Exactly two years after his ordination in April 1610, he was sent to England. Nothing is known of his missionary life apart from the fact that some time in the next eight years he was arrested and imprisoned in the Gatehouse in London. By May 1618 the negotiations for a Spanish match were underway, but these were disrupted by the quick and unwanted execution of the secular priest William Southerne at Newcastle – it was to be the last execution of a Catholic priest in James' reign. The Spanish ambassador Gondomar protested, and on 26 June 1618 a number of priests were released from London prisons and exiled as part of King James' gesture of reconciliation to the departing Spanish ambassador. William Drury was one of them.

Soon afterwards he settled at Douai College as a lecturer in rhetoric and poetry and started writing plays. On 8 January 1619, Drury's students performed one of his unnamed

[879] Questier, *Newsletters from the Archpresbyterate*, pp. 20–21.
[880] On the history of King Alfred in English consciousness see Simon Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), 225–356.
[881] Martin appropriately suggested that Alured may have been present on stage during Canutus' and Cartesmunda's love scenes, providing music, which on occasions is also required for the dance.
[882] Details of Drury's biography are taken from Arthur Freeman, 'William Drury, Dramatist', *Recusant History*, 8/5 (1966), 293–97; and Albert H. Tricomi (ed.), *Alfrede, or, Right reinthron'd: Robert Knightley; a translation of William Drury's Aluredus sive Alfredus* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1993), pp. 5–10.

comedies. It could have been either the tragicomedy *Aluredus* or the comedy *Mors*, both of which were printed a year later in a single volume dedicated to Count Gondomar, Drury's patron, who helped him secure his freedom and his new position at Douai. Both plays were later translated into English. Robert Knightley, a member of a staunchly Catholic and royalist Worcestershire family, translated *Aluredus* in 1659 as *Alfrede, or, Right reinthron'd*. As Albert Tricomi has shown, Knightley's translation was produced in the period immediately before the restoration of the monarchy in England and anticipates the return of the exiled Charles II.[883]

Drury's *Aluredus* is a pietistic tragicomedy dramatizing the ninth-century defeat of Alfred the Great by the Danes under the command of Guthrum. In order to survive, Alfred must put aside his crown and disguise himself as a commoner. Helped by friendly lowborns and guided by divine providence in the shape of St. Cuthbert and hermit Neothus, Alfred eventually launches a counterattack. Guthrum is defeated, but instead of being executed or expelled from England, he is converted to Christianity and remains as a ruler in the eastern part of the kingdom. Just as in *The Lovesick King*, the Danish defeat is not an opportunity for the English to take revenge, but for amicable coexistence between the two nations.

In spite of their shared focus on the life of Alfred the Great, Drury's *Aluredus* and Brewer's *The Lovesick King* display more differences than similarities. In many ways *Aluredus* is an outspoken articulation of the hopes and ideals of English Catholics, which are only tentatively and obliquely present in *The Lovesick King*. The same holds for the allegorical reading of the characters and historical period in general. Drury leaves no doubt that the Danish invasion is an allegory for the iconoclastic intrusion of Protestant heresy. Moreover, in an overtly Catholic play, such as Drury's, there is no need for God to afflict his enemies with divine love. Providential agents in *Aluredus* are much more conventional

[883] Tricomi, *Alfrede, or, Right reinthron'd*, p. 17–31.

and true to medieval biographical sources on Alfred the Great: Alfred's patron St. Cuthbert and the hermit Neothus are carefully steering the action towards English victory and the final Danish conversion.

The shared opening lament over the miserable state of invaded England is one of the more startling similarities. The images of running blood, countless slaughtered bodies, and the fear that the English will be erased from the face of the earth, run through both texts. The main difference is that in *Aluredus* the speech is delivered by Athelrede only, while in *The Lovesick King* the words are divided among King Etheldred and his fellow soldiers:

I. Captain: The breach is made, the Danes rush ore the Walls,
And like the pent up Ocean 'bove his banks,
Falls from his height with roaring violence,
And drowns us all in blood.
[…]
Edmond: The Danes are in the streets, slaughter begins,
And execution is their Souldiers words.
O will you lay your throats beneath their swords,
Or doth your danger make you desperate?
Your houses will be preys to fire and theft.
Etheldred: Your Wives and Daughters slaves to Danish lust.
Allured: Your Children in their Mothers arms struck dead.
Edmond: The names of English torn from memory;
Oh let your valors in one chance be hurl'd,

Or quite extirpe a Nation from the World.[884]

Athelrede: Whither tends th' expiring fate of England?
What destiny menaces the Britans?
Th' insulting enemy violating
Their league overruns all; and mak[e]s y^{e} current
w^{ch} flowes from wonded, slaughterd Carcases:
Rivers are purpl'ed, and roughly glide along
Their reedy banks hasting to the Ocêan
As witnesses of misery. Alas!
Wee haue bin Britans; but that name must be
eraz'd, and Cuntry too, by th' cruell Danes,
A Cuntry styl'd y^{e} Nursery of Saints.[885]

Such lamentations over the English schism and the state of the nation subjugated to heresy were common in Catholic college drama.[886] Which begs the question: is Brewer consciously imitating Continental Anglo-Catholic dramatic tradition?

Such textual parallels may not be quite enough to indicate direct textual influence. But as I have already pointed out in previous chapters, plays on Anglo-Saxon history were rare in the early seventeenth century. Therefore, to have two plays which both deal with the reign of the same Anglo-Saxon monarch, written consecutively within such a short space of

[884] *The Lovesick King*, I.i.10–24.
[885] *Alfrede or Right Reinthron's*, I.i.1–12. When quoting from Drury's *Aluredus*, I use Robert Knightley translation edited by Tricomi.
[886] Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, pp. 181–87.

time, must at least be an indication of the authors' shared affinity in historiographical material.

Early in James' reign, Anglo-Saxon historiography was going through a radical revision, mainly due to the Catholic exile Richard Verstegan. Donna Hamilton has demonstrated how Verstegan's ambitious antiquarian work *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605) substantially revised Tudor historiography, which favoured a Trojan, British, and Roman heritage for the royal dynasty.[887] Moreover, these British origins were appropriated by Protestant apologists such as John Leland and John Foxe, who claimed that 'British Christianity had not originated from and had not been sustained by Rome' but was brought to England in 63 AD by Joseph of Arimathea.[888] Verstegan's linguistic and historical analysis completely debunked the Protestant orthodoxy. He claimed that English were not originating from ancient Britons but were Germanic Saxons who arrived in England in the fifth century. In his narrative on Anglo-Saxon culture, Christianisation, and English history until the Norman Conquest, Verstegan not only demolished Tudor myth but also implicitly maintained that 'the mainstay of English political traditions rested in contractual government […] and that kings were not to be the head of the church'.[889]

Verstegan tactfully dedicated *Restitution* to King James, which enabled the book to be imported and legally sold in England. But had James, who strongly identified himself with British antiquity, properly read Verstegan's book, he would not have been pleased with its 'Saxon-centred perspective' which 'discards this British past and its heroes like Brut and King Arthur'.[890] However, Verstegan supplied James with a new Saxon ancestry. After the Norman Conquest, Prince Edgar Etheling escaped with his family to Scotland, where they

[887] Donna B. Hamilton, 'Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605): A Catholic Antiquarian replies to John Foxe, Thomas Cooper, and Jean Bodin', *Prose Studies*, 22/1 (1999), 1–38; cf. Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*, pp. 85–93; Higley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, pp. 108–17.
[888] Hamilton, 'Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution*', pp. 5–6.
[889] Ibid., p. 4.
[890] Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation*, p. 111.

were ‘honorably receaued’ by King Malcolm III.[891] Malcolm married the elder sister of Edgar, Margaret, and so the Scottish royalty mixed with the Anglo-Saxon. It was at that time that ‘the Scotish court because of the Queen and the many English that came with her, began to speak English’.[892] In *The Lovesick King*, Alured’s connection with Scotland is equally stressed in order to normalize King James’ ancestry and integrate him into the Anglo-Saxon past.

The plays by Brewer and Drury should perhaps be perceived in the context of this recent Catholic reinterpretation of the Anglo-Saxon past. They do not seem to be influenced by any other popular body of work, especially if we consider that they both precede the institutional revival of Anglo-Saxon studies and royalist interest in Alfred the Great, which only really took off during the reign of Charles I, and not until 1634, when Robert Powell published *The Life of Alfred*, which was paired with a parallel life of King Charles.[893] Both Brewer and Drury utilized the new pro-Catholic context of the Anglo-Saxon history to plead with the king. By imagining King James as the peace-making and unifying King Alfred, with whom James indeed shared ambitions and intellectual qualities, the plays inscribed the Protestant king in a distinctly Catholic context, in a bid to encourage him to adopt a more sympathetic policy towards the persecuted religious minority. On the other hand, there is no decisive evidence for establishing a direct literary influence of Brewer on William Drury. As we know, the textual history of *The Lovesick King* and the question of its authorship remain rather uncertain as they are. Establishing whether Drury had knowledge of *The Lovesick King* before he set out to write *Aluredus* seems an impossible task for now. Although Drury was probably familiar with theatre production in London, we have no evidence that he ever visited the north-east nor that he was at liberty at the time of the

[891] Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence: In Antiquities* (Antwerp, 1605), p. 180.
[892] Verstegan, *A Restitution*, p. 180.
[893] Keynes, ‘The Cult of King Alfred’, pp. 253–54.

Newcastle performance of Brewer's play.[894] And yet in spite of the numerous unknowns, the speculation remains intriguing and not completely without foundation.

From their respective dramaturgical and intellectual positions, both *Aluredus* and *The Lovesick King* can be described as moderate and pacifist plays. Drury openly articulates the fact that he is putting on stage a struggle between Protestant heresy and Counter-Reformation Catholicism, but he is far from inciting violence. In the epilogue, St. Cuthbert laments once again the English schism and the ruthlessness of heresy, but then concludes with a rousing address to the Douai pupils, inviting them to fight with piety, not with swords:

> O devoted band of youth, hope of an island in the midst of shipwreck […] take up arms of piety, not those dedicated to terrible Mars such as the giants bear: by taking up the Christian arms, doctrine and faith, conquer by enduring. There is no greater victory than this. By patient sufferance evil is vanquished. Young men, wage such battles. Weary the deity with frequent prayer; the army of heaven will bring every assistance. Your chorus of martyrs will approach triumphant over the menaces of Avernus. Be bold. Deliverance will certainly come in the end.[895]

The weapons of the future missionaries are faith, doctrine, and patience; these will undoubtedly prevail in the end, restoring true religion in England. Whereas Drury's play is addressed to the exiles and the future priests in the English mission, whose principal concern was the conversion and reintegration of their homeland in the Roman fold, Brewer's addressees form the opposite end of the congregational spectrum: the lay Catholics at home. In *The Lovesick King*, the English Catholics, who were daily exposed to religio-political

[894] On Catholic priests visiting London playhouses at the time Drury was in England see I. J. Semper, 'The Jacobean Theatre through the Eyes of Catholic Clerics', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 3/1 (1952), 45–51.
[895] Tricomi, *Alfrede, or, Right reinthron'd*, p. 154.

contradictions in their precarious position, were invited to follow virtue and loyalty, not violent resistance and hypocritical evasion. By showing support for the oath of allegiance and representing unequivocal loyalty, Brewer promotes the political practices of these moderate Catholics, who believed that uncompromising love for their sovereign would eventually lead to a future of tolerance, peace, and reconciliation. If Drury's seminarians should rely on piety to spiritually revive England, then Brewer's laymen 'must war with love' to assert their deep and true temporal allegiance to King James.[896]

[896] *The Lovesick King*, V.ii.119.

6 Conclusion

In my thesis I have explored some distinctly Catholic uses of performative entertainment in the Jacobean North-East. The discussion has focused on two case studies. In chapter 2, I discussed the Catholic appropriation of dance. Accompanied by his wife Anne, Robert Hindmers, a local dancing master, utilized his professional skills to serve and support the English mission in the North-East. Although we lack evidence to indisputably affirm that Hindmers' 'creeping into houses' actually involved performing dance, it is very likely that it was precisely Hindmers' profession which made him suitable for assisting in the missionary activities of a secular priest, William Southerne.

In chapter 3, I moved on to the second case study: King James I' visit to Newcastle in April and May 1617 and local performance of Brewer's play *The Lovesick King*. I began by establishing that a strong Catholic element was present at the time among the Newcastle civic elite. Although both Mayor Sir Thomas Riddell and the King's host Sir George Selby were conformists, they nourished pro-Catholic sentiments and represented the core of the Catholic faction among the Newcastle coal-trading oligarchy. Besides the Newcastle elite, a number of pro-Catholic nobles was present in the city at the time of the King's visit, including Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle, who was an avowed Catholic and a steadfast supporter of King James, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Aurndel, who grew up as a Catholic and had only recently conformed to the state religion. I interpreted Anthony Brewer's play *The Lovesick King* as a product of northern Catholic loyalism.

In the final chapters, I have moved away from predominantly historical and contextual research to engage in close textual analysis of Brewer's play in order to untangle its representational strategies and assess to what extent *The Lovesick King* actually reflects Newcastle's Catholic identity. I conclude that, in spite of its poor poetic quality, the play is meticulously structured and dramaturgically effective. *The Lovesick King* relies heavily on

Neoplatonic and Herculean imagery, in particular the motif of Hercules at the crossroads, which is utilized to comment on the monarch's political practice and contemporary controversy over the oath of allegiance. Throughout the play I have also traced a veiled anti-Calvinism, which is particularly noticeable in Brewer's theology of grace and his politics of iconoclasm and idolatry. Finally, reading the reconciliatory ending of the play intertextually, by comparing it with William Drury's *Aluredus sive Alfredus*, allows us to more firmly articulate the play's moderate Catholic stance: if the loyalism of the play's Novocastrians also articulates Catholic allegiances, then the ending, in which forces of heresy are subdued and virtuous love establishes trans-confessional unity, may be understood as a plea by northern Catholics for greater religious toleration.

The two case studies illustrate the diversity of Catholic engagement with performative entertainment in the North-East. While Robert Hindmer's dancing demonstrates the subversive potential of entertainment, similar to the activities of the Simpson players in North Yorkshire, the staging of *The Lovesick King* by the Newcastle elite elucidates Catholic participation in eulogistic royalism and their willingness to compromise with the Protestant establishment

Overall, this thesis offers only a limited perspective on sociability and entertainment in the north-eastern Catholic community. A future study should address its shortcomings by broadening its geographical and chronological frame. A greater focus on Catholic performing practices in the whole of England would enable us to better assess the interconnectedness of Catholic lay communities and the extent and aims of Catholic patronage of performative entertainment. Future research might also more prominently take into account the role of the Catholic clergy, both at home and in exile, in promoting performative entertainment. It is a vision worth exploring.

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